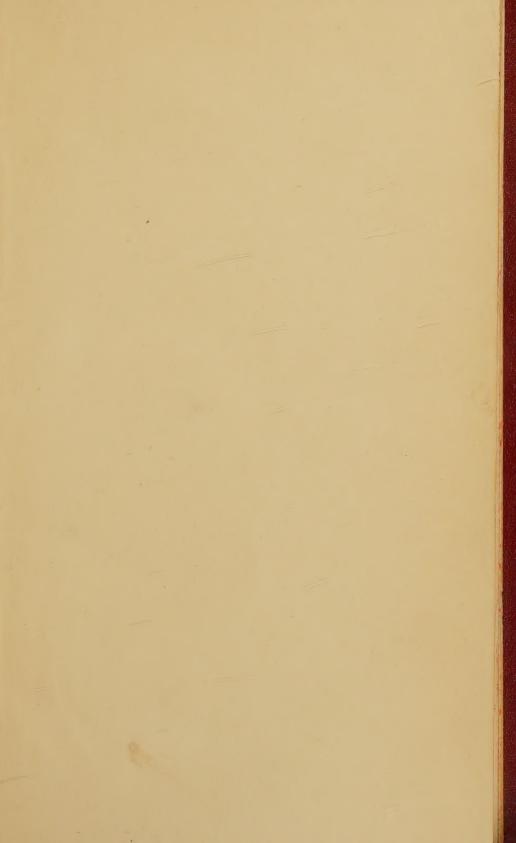


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Occupying the Apostolic Throne and giving Benediction to a Bishop

VESTIARIVM CHRISTIANVM

The Origin and Gradual Development

OF

THE DRESS OF HOLY MINISTRY IN THE CHVRCH

BY THE

REV. WHARTON B. MARRIOTT, M.A., F.S.A.

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and Preacher, by license from the Bishop, in the Diocese, of Oxford.

London

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PREFACE.

HISTORICAL or antiquarian investigation is one thing, theological controversy is another. There is time, and there is place, for both; but not for both the same time and the same place, without disadvantage to the former of the two. Under this conviction I have studiously put aside, in the Treatise which follows, all reference to the passing controversies of these days, and have made it my one object to collect every fact of importance bearing upon the subject immediately before me, to set it before my readers in such a way, as shall enable them to form their own estimate of its value, and at the same time to offer, for whatever may be its worth, the interpretation which I myself believe to be the true one.

And even now that my work is complete, a work that originated in the controversies of these days, and that touches, as I believe, upon those controversies in many points of the greatest importance, I still think it better, on many grounds, to adhere to the same course. The objects I have in view will, I believe, be best attained, if I leave the monuments, here reproduced, to tell their own tale, and to produce conviction by their own force, without any attempt on my part to apply their lessons in detail to questions of Ritual, or of Doctrine, now disputed in the Church.

But there is one duty which I must take this opportunity of discharging, though it is beyond my power to do so adequately. I have to express my grateful thanks to all those (they are very many) from whom, in various ways, I have received affistance in my work. Among these I may be allowed to refer more

particularly to the Trustees, and the Officers, of the British Museum. To Mr. Newton as an old friend, to Mr. Bond, and Mr. A. Franks, with no other claim but that of a common interest in antiquarian study, I have often had recourse, and never without receiving the readiest and the most efficient help.

To Mr. Woodward, Her Majesty's Librarian at Windsor, I have to acknowledge many special obligations. And I know that I shall do so in the manner that will be most acceptable to him, if I take this opportunity of faying, that in making available for literary study the resources of the Library under his charge, he is but carrying out the express commands of H.R.H. the Prince Confort, under the fanction of the Queen. It was the Prince's defire, that as foon as the arrangement of the Library, commenced under his direction, should be sufficiently advanced, it should be made accessible for purposes of study as far as might be confistent with its special character. As one of the first to have profited, as I have most largely, by the permission thus given, I venture to express my grateful acknowledgments, and to make known this additional illustration of the generous confideration for others, and regard for the interests of Literature, which were conspicuous in the lamented Prince.

I have received communications of much interest and value in reference to particular questions, from Mr. Droop, Mr. Wilshere, the Rev. J. C. Wynter, Mr. W. Simpson, and others. I have gladly availed myself of the information so received.

For the Illustrations of this Volume I have been dependent, mainly, upon two very skilful Photographers, Mr. Preston and Mr. Saunders; and on a Copyist, all but photographically exact, Mr. A. Reid, of the South Kensington Museum. I am also greatly indebted to Signor Scisoni, of Rome, for Drawings made from MSS. in the Vatican Library and elsewhere.

I ought not to conclude without faying, how much I owe to more than one foreign writer whose books I have laid under contribution. Treating though they do of subjects keenly PREFACE.

controverted for the last three hundred years, they write in a spirit of loyal devotion to the Truth, and the Truth alone, such as others, differing widely from them in doctrinal prepossessions, might well desire to imitate. In saying this, I refer particularly to Dr. Hefele, and the Chevalier De Rossi, from both of whom I have learnt much, and hope to learn much more.

I have frequently made use of the admirable Compendium of Professor Weiss, and of the special Treatise on Liturgical Vestments by Dr. Bock. This latter work contains minute information, not to be found elsewhere, as to the material, shape, and ornamentation, of Mediæval Vestments.

Nor must I pass over without mention yet another writer, Dr. Rock, a fellow-countryman of my own. His learned work, "The Church of our Fathers," contains much interesting information on the early History of Vestments in this country. He writes, as those who know him will not need to be told, with a doctrinal object in view, with which the writer of the present Treatise cannot sympathise. But I gladly bear testimony to the extensive research, of which his work gives proof; and I regret that my own book was all but completed before I had any opportunity of consulting his pages.

And now I have only to fend forth my work to the light, with the expression of my earnest hope, that it may contribute, in some small measure at least, to a more accurate knowledge of the Past; and, in so doing, help in its degree to the guidance of the Church, in our own days, through the difficulties of these present times, and of the uncertain but not unhopeful Future that awaits Her.

Eton, January 29, 1868.

ERRATA.

Page xii., note o. quoted in App. A. erafe.

- xxxii., line 13. For St. Clement read St. James
- xxxviii., note τ. For given in the Canons read conceded by long custom
- lviii., line 10. For fought read ought
- lxv., note θ. For No. 27 read No. 26
- lxxviii., line 14. For Vienna read Vienne
- lxxxviii., note ψ. For 1430 read 1438
- 15, line 13. For and these of read and of these
- 22, line 22. Remove comma after pectore
- 42, line 2 of the text. For κατηγοράσαs read κατηγορήσαs
- 88, note 157 in fin. For Cap. supra read Cf. supra
- 106, line 6. Insert comma (in place of full stop) after consecrantur
- , note 206. For or its place read for its place
- 148, line 3. For orma read forma
- 149, line 3. For cum integra fit read cum unica fit
- 151, line 3. For subjects read subject-for then read them
- , line 12. For meniti read muniti
- 168, note 144. For to homage read of homage
- 181, note 374. For facco read fucco
- 196, line 22. For appear read wear
- 207, note 427. For utuntur read utantur
- 209, note 429. After Archbishop of Milan insert (in the fourth century)
- 222, note 454, line 1. Omit which
- 226, note 464. For bauiekin read baudekin
- 246, plate lxiii. This is fo numbered in order to correspond with the number on the plate itself. The number ought to have been lxii, both on the plate and in the description.
- 247, line 19. For p. xliii. The Prophet Malachi read p. xxxiv. The Prophet Malachi
 [To the Lift of Woodcuts there given should have been added the following:—
- xliii. A Representation of Our Lord, from the same MS. as that last described.]
- 248. Erase the words, the coin just below the roll, the marriage dowry

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^{*} Of the extracts fo marked Translations only are given, particular passages of the Original being added in the Notes.

[†] Of the extracts fo marked the original only is given in full, translations of particular passages, and illustrative notes, being subjoined.

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THE ORIGIN AND GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF ECCLESIASTICAL DRESS.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE question, what vestments are to be regarded as proper to offices of holy ministry in Christ's Church, is one that of late has been keenly debated, and is still for various reasons exciting considerable interest.

There are those who believe that the dress of Christian ministry was from the first, under Divine guidance, and, by Apostolic authority, modelled, in detail, upon the dress of the Aaronic priesthood. But, after all that has been written in disproof of this opinion of late years, especially by learned Roman Catholic writers, whose bias would naturally incline them to its support, this belief must be regarded as an opinion due to doctrinal prepossessions on the part of the few who still maintain it, rather than as one which admits of serious support upon historical grounds.

On the other hand, it may be faid with truth, that there were features of analogy between the two types of drefs, although the points of difference were in primitive times far more frongly marked than the points of refemblance.

Among those " who have examined the question upon

Mearly the fame conclusions are mainment of Jacobus Sirmondus quoted in tained by Dr. Hefele in his essay on the second part of this volume (p. 47).

purely antiquarian or historical evidence, the more general opinion is fuch as this: -That in the Apostolic age there was no essential difference between the dress worn by Christians in ordinary life, and that worn by bishops, priests, or other clerics, when engaged in offices of holy ministration. But that after the lapse of three or four centuries the drefs of ordinary life became changed, while that worn in ecclefiaftical offices remained in form unchanged, though ever more and more richly decorated. That from these causes a marked distinction was gradually brought about between the dress of the clergy and that of the laity (to fay nothing of the monastic orders who were distinguished from them both); that, as time went on, the ordinary dress of the clergy themselves came to be distinguished, in form, in colour, and in name, from that in which they ministered; while at length yet a further distinction was introduced as between the dress of the more ordinary ministrations, and the more splendid Vestments reserved for the highest Offices of all, and for occasions of special solemnity.

There is much in this fecond statement which is undoubtedly true. But the evidence to be alleged in the following treatise will show, that important modifications of that statement, and additions to it, must be made, if we wish to convey an exact idea of what was the Primitive and Apostolic type of ministering dress, and what the successive stages of its gradual development. The most important of these modifications and additions of which I speak, it may be well, before proceeding further, briefly here to indicate.

zur Kirchengeschichte &c., von Dr. C. J. Hesele, Tubingen, 1864.] Even Dr. Bock, who with great erudition and much ingenuity, traces out resemblances between the Roman vestments now in use and those of the Levitical priesthood, is constrained by the force of sacts to admit that

this resemblance was brought about by changes first made after the close of the eighth century. [Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters, Band i. cap. vi. p. 413.] Compare Thomassimus, Vetus et nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina. Part i. Lib. ii. cap. xliii. 299.

Dividing the history of the Church, for the purposes of this inquiry, into three periods, we may regard the first, or Primitive Period, as extending to the close of the four first centuries. The second, or Transition Period, as of four hundred years more, to the close of the eighth century. The third period may be considered as extending to the present time, but as subdivided, in respect of the churches of the West, by the age of the Resormation.

THE FIRST, OR PRIMITIVE PERIOD.

In the Primitive Period, of about 400 years, the dress of Christian ministry was in form, in shape, in distinctive name, identical with the dress worn by persons of condition, on occasions of joyous festival, or solemn ceremonial. And this was a dress which in such wise differed from the Habit of every-day life, and of ordinary wear, that it was marked out plainly in the eyes of all as a garb proper to occasions of religious worship, and of solemn assembly in the Presence of God.

In the centuries that have elapsed since the close of that first Period, modifications of the Primitive type, and additions to it, have been made from time to time. These modifications and additions have varied in degree, and in kind, in various branches of the Church. And when traced (as they admit of being traced) to their causes, they are found to reflect faithfully important changes through which such churches have passed, either inwardly, by reason of innovations upon Primitive Doctrine, or outwardly through vicissitudes of political position. For a striking example of what is here afferted, we may do well to confine our attention for the present to the Churches of the West, as being those in which we ourselves have chief

concern, and as affording ampler materials for investigation than do the Eastern Churches.

THE SECOND, OR PRIMITIVE PERIOD.

Passing on then to the Second Period (from circ. 400 to 800 A.D.) the facts which come before us are thefe. When in the fifth century overwhelming tides of invasion from the North swept in succession over the face of Southern Europe, the purity of the old Latin speech, and the dignity of the old Roman garb, became, for the first time, distinctive marks to which the inheritors of the older civilifation of Rome clung with affection, as separating them, even in outward femblance, from the revolutionary barbarism about them. And, accordingly, after this older costume had disappeared from common use, it was still preserved in the state dresses of Roman official dignitaries, and in the vestments which alone were confidered feemly for fuch as ministered in the various offices of the Church. During this period of transition, the flight but fignificant distinctions, both of dress and Infignia, which from very early times had been employed in the Church, were not unfrequently the subjects of special regulation, and were modified and added to by degrees.

THE THIRD PERIOD.

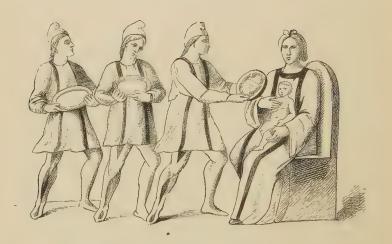
Passing now to the Third Period, we shall find that in the sudden but very brief revival of learning and of art which marks the age of Charlemagne, the peculiarities of ecclesiastical dress began to attract the special attention of the more learned ecclesiastics of the time. Certain points of analogy between the older vestments of the Levitical priesthood and the ministering

dress of the Church, had been made the subject of occasional allusion even in earlier writers. But now for the first time was the attempt made to trace out in detail a correspondence between the 'eight vestments' of the Jewish high-priest, and those of Christian ministry. The idea once embraced took strong hold upon the mind of churchmen. And as, in the ninth century, the points of difference between the two types of dress were, to say the least, quite as evident, as the marks of resemblance, changes and additions were rapidly made with a view to assimilating, as far as might be, the Christian to the older Levitical type. So that, if we take the eleventh or twelfth century as the period for comparison, instead of the age of the Apostles, the theory of an analogy in detail between the Levitical and the Christian vestments admits of being maintained with great plausibility.

The type of dress which was thus at length established has been maintained in the Roman Church, with very slight modifications only, to the present time. But when, after the revival of ancient learning, the Church of England reformed her faith and her discipline, upon the authority of Holy Scripture and the model of the Primitive Church, considerable changes were made among ourselves in that Mediæval and Roman type of dress. And the result has been that the customary ministering dress of the English clergy during the last three hundred years, has been in colour and general appearance, though not in name, all but exactly identical with that which we find assigned to the Apostles in the earliest monuments of Christendom, and which, upon similar evidence, we shall find reason to conclude was, in point of fact, the dress of Christian ministry in the primitive ages of the Church.

Such is, in general terms, the refult to which the monuments of fuccessive centuries, and the testimony of successive writers, seem to point. And now, as a first step towards establishing by direct evidence the various statements above made, it will be well to remind ourselves what was the prevailing type of dress, and what the nature of official Insignia, in that first age of Christianity with which our inquiry begins.

But this opens up a somewhat wide subject, to which it will be well to devote a separate chapter.



CHAPTER II.

CIVIL DRESS IN THE FIRST CENTURY.

WITH a view to the question now before us, it is important to observe that the dress of ordinary life, in the first secentury of our era, was in all essential respects the same in Syria, in Asia Minor, in Greece, and in Rome.

Nor have we far to feek in order to determine what this was. In the various monuments of ancient art in which representations of civil dress have been preserved to us, we find

ß I fpeak here of the first century, because it is then that in some way or other the question of a dress proper to offices of Christian ministry must first have been practically determined. But what is stated above of the first century will apply to the first four hundred years of the Christian era. Throughout that time there were changes of fashion at Rome as between Toga and Pallium, and Pænula and Caracalla, and the like, but the general characteristics of the dress above described remained but little changed.

y The following passage will serve to suggest the true cause of the general resemblance here noticed. "Greece and Rome may be regarded as the medium through which, in the designs of Providence, a slood of *Eastern civilisation* was destined to overspread the otherwife barbarous West . . . The influence of Rome . . . has never yet ceased, though the effentially Eastern characteristics of Pelasgic Rome have long fince paffed away. In truth, it is not easy to contemplate, even in imagination, a people walking about in fandals and white blankets, living in houses which retained, amidst all their incomparable fplendour and luxury, the primitive Eastern arrangement of a central fireplace and a hole in the roof above it; reclining, like Turks or Arabs, on cushions at their meals; burning their dead like Hindus, and with all the idol accessories both in their homes and their temples (to fay nothing of the inpure rites), which still mark the pantheism of the unchanging East." - Preface to Paley's Fasti, p. xiv.

on examination two prevailing types, the characteristics of which can be recognifed at a glance. They may be described respectively as the dress of active exertion, and the dress of dignified leifure, of festivity, or of solemn state. And of these two leading types two articles of drefs are respectively characteristic. The χίτων, or tunica, the chetoneth of Holy Scripture, is the dress of activity. That same xirw, or tunic, with the addition of some full and flowing supervesture, is the dress of dignity or of folemn state.

Of these two main constituents of ancient dress, common to both men and women, the Tunic was fitted fomewhat closely to the body, and, when need required, was girt up so as to leave the lower limbs more or lefs free. It admitted, accordingly, of but little variety in shape, though it did admit, of course, of variety in material and in texture. And because of this fimplicity the names by which it was known vary comparatively little. But there was a longer form of the tunic fuited for occasions of state, known as the xitwo ποδήρης, tunica talaris, that is, "reaching to the feet," or "to the ankles," as well as the shorter tunic commonly worn.

The fupervefture, on the other hand, the prevailing form of which was that of a large blanket, or of a Highland plaid, admitted, as does fuch a plaid now, of the greatest variety in arrangement,-admitted too of every degree of splendour in respect of material, texture, and ornamentation. And to this portion of ancient dress we find, accordingly, a great variety of names affigned, indicative, many of them, of special modifications of the general type. Now a supervesture of this kind, full and flowing, was in the nature of things unfuited to energetic action, and even incompatible with it. It was,

the outer garment (iμάτιον) when active | note 128, p. 73. (Part ii.)

deliberation Hence the frequent allusions in exertion was required. Hom. II. B. ancient authors to the throwing off of 183, is the earliest instance. Compare

therefore, affociated in men's minds either with the peaceful: occupations of rulers, statesmen, and councillors, or with those more folemn occasions of festivity or of worship, when, in the presence of the father of their house or of the chief of their tribe, or of God, at once their Father and their King, men gathered together in folemn affembly, and with a natural instinct of propriety put on their more beautiful apparel. Better illustrations of these two types of dress cannot be found than in two representations of our Lord which are of frequent occurrence in the early Catacombs. When He is represented (fee Plate XIII.) as "The Good Shepherd," the figure (of classical origin, and nearly resembling the Ερμῆς πριόφορος of Calamis) is that of an actual shepherd, clad in the xirw only, and that girt up, and reaching barely to the knee. But when He is represented, not allegorically but directly, as fitting in the midst of His disciples or of the Jewish doctors, sas giving food, which He Himself had blessed, to the feeding of great multitudes," as bleffing young children, or raifing dead Lazarus to life; ' in all these cases alike both our Lord Himself and the Twelve (when they, too, are represented) are clad in what men then deemed a dress appropriate to all such occasions,

first of the two has by some antiquaries been interpreted as representing our Lord among the Jewish doctors. Compare Plate XII.

E This accounts for the idiomatic use of the word toga; as in the cedant arma togæ of Cicero, or in the words preserved by S. Isidore of Seville (Etym. lib. xix.) as addressed to Roman citizens by the Senate, "Depositis togis, Quirites, ite ad saga." [The sagum being a short military cloak.] Herein, too, note the pregnant implication of the closing epithet in the well-known line,—

[&]quot;Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam;"

[&]quot;Lords of the world, a nation clad in garb of peaceful rule."

[¿] See Plates XIV. and XV. The

n This subject, suggestive of the deeper truths which underlie the miracle of the loaves, and which are dwelt upon by our Lord Himself in His subsequent discourse (John, chap. vi.), is one of very frequent occurrence in the earlier frescoes of the Roman Catacombs. See Aringhi, R. S. tom. ii. pp. 59, 91, 95, 101, 249, 269, 333, &c.

⁸ See Plate XI.

[,] Aringhi, R. S. tom. ii. pp. 87, 123, 183, 205, 269, &c.

viz. in a full and flowing super-vestment worn over the χίτων, or tunic already spoken of.

LONG GARMENTS WHEN WORN.

This distinction between the long, full, and stately robes of which I have last spoken, and the shorter, closer, and more convenient dress of active life, is one which meets us again and again both in the literature of antiquity, and in early monuments of art. It is one, too, which it is specially necessary to bear in mind in reference to the questions on which we are now engaged. And with a view to these the following points should specially be noticed.

The wearing of long garments by men, except for special reasons and on exceptional occasions, was, as is well known, regarded as a proof of effeminacy.*

But, on the other hand, on occasions of stately ceremony,—especially of religious ceremony,—this wearing of long garments (τὸ ποδηγοφορεῖν in Greek phrase) was regarded as a natural and appropriate mode of marking the cessation from laborious exertion proper to occasions of solemnity. Hence

companions of Catiline as being confpicuous manicatis ac talaribus tunicis, velis amietos non togis.

λ As to the length of the tunic, the following is the locus classicus commonly referred to. Quintilian, De Or. lib. xi., Cui lati clavi jus non erit, ita cingatur, ut tunicæ prioribus oris infra genua paulum, posterioribus ad medios poplites usque proveniant. Nam infra mulierum est, supra centurionum. In other words, women wear a tunic reaching to the feet (talaris); soldiers, a short tunic, girt up above the knee; the orator, in his forensic habit, is to observe a medium between the two.

^{*} In the East, the tunic was as a rule worn longer than by the Romans. But even there the fame feeling may be traced. Thus Clement of Alexandria, referring to Homer's well-known epithet for the Ionian people, fays, ous 'Oungos ἐκθηλύνων ἑλκεσιπέπλους καλεῖ (Pædag. ii. p. 233). Compare p. 238: 70 σύζειν τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐπ' ἄκρους καθιείς τους πόδας κομιδή άλαζονικόν, έμεποδών τῆ ἐνεργεία τοῦ περιπατεῖν γινόμενον. For the West, St. Augustine's authority may suffice (De Doct. Christ. lib. iii.). He says, Talares ac manicatas tunicas babere olim apud Romanos opprobrium. Compare Cicero's reproach against the

their use in representations alike of the last farewell spoken by a father over his daughter's grave (Pl. I.), by an emperor presiding at a facrifice (Plate III.), by a bridegroom (Plate V. bis), pledging troth to his bride.

And in all the monuments of art bearing upon this matter it will be found that a long tunic is almost invariably worn whenever any supervestment of state," or official dignity, is worn above it.

CHANGE IN THE USE OF THE TOGA.

A further point of importance to the understanding of our present subject is this, that the older usage of the toga had ceased, and a new etiquette with regard to it had become

μ Hence explain Artemidorus, Oneirocritica, ii. 3 (p. 886), in min rais έοςταϊς καὶ πανηγύςεσιν οὐτε ποικιλή ούτε γυναικεία βλάπτει τινα έσθής. Ατtemidorus, who will be often quoted upon the subject now before us, was a native of Asia Minor, a Greek by birth and education, a Roman by domicile, and a witness therefore who combines the traditions both of Greece and Rome. He practifed as a phyfician at Rome early in the fecond century. The Oneirocritica is a treatife (as the title implies) on the interpretation of dreams, and abounds with curious details as to the drefs and coftume of that age.

The only exception is in military dress, and that for obvious reasons. And because in military dress, therefore also in the dress of *emperors*; the original idea of the *imperator* being that of the first citizen of the republic in his character of commander of the

Roman armies. When appearing in that character he wears a short military cloak fo arranged, generally, as to leave the right, or fword arm, wholly free from wrift to shoulder. But when he appears as Pontifex Maximus (as often on coins), and engaged in facrifice, or as Princeps Senatus, he wears the full and flowing vestments, Toga and Tunica talaris, which were regarded as proper to religious ceremonial and to the stately dignity of a citizen princererum dominus, gentisque togatæ, to paraphrase Augustus' own quotation. Hence explain Lampridius in Alex. Severo: Accepit prætextam (h. e. togam prætextam) etiam tum cum sacra faceret, sed loco Pontificis Maximi, non Imperatoris. For the two types of imperial dress compare the two principal figures in Plates III. and IV., and see the same distinctions illustrated in the various figures on the diptych of St. Paul forming the frontispiece to this volume.

Under the republican régime, the free citizen, who as fuch had a right to share, and commonly did share, in the most exalted functions of government in a municipality which gave law to the "world," would never appear in Forum, in Senate (if such his rank), or in assembly of the people, without the characteristic dress (note ε, p. ix), which marked him out as one of the "masters of the world." But when, after the establishment of the empire, the whole powers of government at home and abroad came to be concentrated in the hands of one man, and of his nominees, the general use of the toga was at once abandoned; and the far more convenient super-vestments, the lacerna, or the pallium, substituted for it. Augustus attempted, but in vain, to resist an innovation

nate the characteristic Greek dress (the iμάτιον) in contradiffinction from the toga, the national dress of Latium. The pallium varied in fize (as did the toga) according to the wealth and dignity of the wearer, and the occasion of greater or less ceremony on which it was worn. But there was one marked diffinction between it and the toga, that the former was (when opened out) either square or oblong; the latter either circular or oval. [This must be said with some reserve, ut in re adhuc fub judice.] The following passages will illustrate what has been faid. Suetonius in Augusto, cap. 08: "Ceteros continuos dies, inter varia munuscula, togas insuper ac pallia diftribuit, lege propofita (i.e. making it a condition), ut Romani Græco, Græci Romano habitu uterentur." Valerius Maximus, lib. ii. cap. 2, speaking of the Romans when in Greece perfifting in using Latin in the law courts: " Nulla non in re pallium togæ fubjici debere arbitrabantur." See Plate V. bis.

E Tertullian (De Palho, p. 214) alludes to the many inconveniences involved in the use of the Toga. "Quid te prius in toga sentias, indutum anne onustum? Habere vestem, an bajulare? Si negabis, domum consequar; videbo quid statim a limine properes. Nullius prosecto alterius indumenti depositio quam [i.e. magis quam] togæ gratulatur."

o The Lacerna (χλάμυς, μανδύης, or ἐρεστείς) was originally regarded as a garment proper to foldiers, and was confidered therefore wholly unfeemly in republican times within the walls of Rome. But under the empire it came into general use even in the city. Martial alludes to it as worn by spectators at the games. Epig. iv. 2, quoted in Appendix A.

⁷ The word *Pallium* has a great variety of meanings (note 125) both in claffical and in ecclefiaftical Latin (notes 127, 129, 157, 195, 227) At Rome in the first century the word when specifically used served to design

which was due not to any mere caprice of fashion, but to the complete change in the status of Roman citizens brought about by Augustus himself. But what was in his own power he did, aided as he was by those traditionary associations which connected the toga in Roman minds with the whole course of their history even from earliest times. It was still thought of as the distinctively Roman dress, e in contrast with the Greek pallium (indition); it was still regarded as the proper dress for ceremonial use on all occasions of state, of social or religious celebration. Thus it was contrary to etiquette to dine with the emperor, except in a toga. Advocates were still required to wear it; and Clients, at least on important occasions, in attendance upon their Patrons.

e Suetonius, speaking of Augustus: Visa quondam pullatorum (the ordinary lacerna was of a dark colour) turba, dedit negotium Æ dilibus ne quem paterentur in Foro aut in Curia nist positis lacernis togatum consistere. It was on the like occasion that he is represented as quoting, with indignation, the well-known line of Virgil, commented on in note s, p. ix.

σ Spartianus in Severo. "Habuit etiam aliud omen imperii, cum rogatus ad cœnam Imperatoriam palliatus venisset, qui togatus venire debuisset, togam præsidiariam ipsius Imperatoris accepit."

r To this probably refers Juvenal, Sat. viii.

"Veniet de plebe togata Qui juris nodos et legum ænigmata folvat."

And so Ovid, Remed. Amor. 150.

"Da vacuæ menti, quo teneatur, opus.

Sunt fora, funt leges, funt, quos tuearis,
amici.

Vade per urbanæ splendida [al. candida] castra togæ."

On this passage I may note in passing that *splendida*, which is probably the true reading, would convey to a Roman ear nearly the same meaning as *candida*, which, as a various reading, is probably a gloss upon the former word. Compare Seneca, Epist. v. "Non *splendeat* toga; ne fordeat quidem." And for *candidus*, equivalent to $\lambda \alpha \mu \pi \rho \delta s$, see note 19.

v Hence the phrase, opera togata, used of "full-dress" ceremonial in general, and more particularly of the ceremonious attendance upon persons high in office or in station. Hence explain Martial, Lib. iii. Ep. 46.

"Exigis a nobis operam fine fine togatam;

Non eo, libertum fed tibi mitto meum."

And, again, Lib. ix. Ep. 101:

"Denariis tribus invitas, et mane togatum
Observare jubes atria, Basse, tua;
Deinde hærere tuo lateri, præcedere sellam,
Ad vetulas tecum plus minus ire decem."

THE TOGA AS A GARMENT OF RELIGION.

But for our present purpose it is of special importance to note the use of the toga on occasions which were more particularly of a religious character. It was worn (but then black, or at least of dark colour) at sunerals by mourners; while in a white toga were the dead themselves carried out to burial. It was worn by those who took part in public sacrifices, as in the earlier times it had ever been. To this use of the toga Martial alludes when in writing to a friend (iv. Ep. lxv.) he congratulates him on the easy life he leads; and on this among other things, that living away from Rome, as he does, in a country town, he has not to take his toga out more than once or twice a month on "temple days," so to say.

"Egisti vitam semper, Line, municipalem, Qua nihil in vita dulcius esse potest. Idibus, et raris togula est excussa Kalendis."

And a similar usage of the toga is alluded to by Tertullian (De Cor. Mil. p. 358). He is speaking of a particular kind of Corona (or chaplet, note 54, p. 32) known as Corona Hetrusca. Hoc vocabulum, he writes, est coronarum, quas gemmis, et soliis ex auro quercinis, ob Jovem insignes, ad deducendas thensas cum palmatis togis sumunt.

SUMMARY.

Passages to a similar effect might be multiplied if need were. But enough has been said to determine the two points which it is of chief importance to my present purpose to make clear. First, that the use of long, full, and slowing gar-

 $[\]varphi$ See, for example, the figure of the Emperor prefiding at a facrifice in Plate III. And fee note, above.

ments, was regarded in the Roman world generally, in the first century, as specially appropriate to all ceremonial occafions, whether civil or religious. And, secondly, that at Rome the *toga* had ceased to be worn as a garb of ordinary life, but was retained as the habit of ceremony, both civil and religious.

I need only add that where Greek dress prevailed, the pallium (iμάτιον), in its fuller and more dignified form, occupied the same place relatively, as a dress of ceremonial, as did the toga in Rome itself, and in those parts of the Roman world which adhered to Roman usage.



CHAPTER III.

§ 1. Associations of Colour in the First Four Centuries.

ENOUGH has been faid in the last chapter on the subject of Dress in general to allow of our proceeding now to a further question, that of the Colour, which, in the primitive age, was thought appropriate to the Dress of Christian Ministry.

The earliest monuments bearing upon this question, whether in literature, or in early Christian art, point to the conclusion that that Dress was white.

And before we proceed to any more detailed examination of those monuments, it will be well to take note of the ideas which prevailed in the ancient world upon this subject of Colour, and of the causes to which that feeling may be traced.

In this place I shall do little more than state the general results to which the language of antiquity points; reserving to an Appendix x the more detailed statement of the evidence bearing upon this question.

§ 2. Associations of Colour in Classical Writers.

And, first, a few words as to the feeling of the ancient world generally upon this matter of Colour, apart from, and antecedent to, any exclusively Christian influences. Black and fombre ψ colours, bright and gaudy colours, and lastly, white, these are the three main divisions with which we have to deal. And each of these had, in the minds of men generally, a certain accepted significance in the times of which we now are speaking, and that both in the East and in the West.

Black or dark garments, by a natural affociation, have ever been regarded as the expression of mourning. They were also worn for obvious reasons of economy and of convenience by the poor, and by labouring men in general.

White, on the other hand, was the colour thought appropriate to joyous festivity of all kinds. Donatus (commenting on Terence) speaks for the general feeling upon this subject when he says, that "Bright white garments are for them that rejoice, and sombre clothing to them that grieve." Lato vestitus candidus: arumnoso obsoletus.

A further point should here be noticed, that not among the Jews α only, but in the ancient world generally, white was regarded as the colour especially appropriate to things divine, and to religious worship. Thus Plato, β when speaking of the kind of offerings which may with most sitness be made to the gods, says, that "White colours will be most seemly for gods, as in other things, so also in this of woven garments offered

ψ μέλαινα or φαία ἐσθὸς, in Greek writers: atræ, nigræ, fuscæ, pullæ, vestes, in the West; or to express a meaning nearly, though not exactly the same, sordidæ and obsoletæ.

w It may be well, however, to note that in some exceptional cases white was for women a colour of mourning; as to a certain extent it still is among ourselves. This, however, was only the case where, as an ordinary rule, bright and gay colours were worn. In all ages, and in all countries, the

conventional figns of mourning are to be explained by remembering that they confift in a reverfing (more or less complete) of the habit of ordinary life. Thus where the hair is ordinarily worn short it is a fign of mourning to let it grow long; where the hair is generally long, as with women, it is a fign of mourning to cut it off.

· a See Appendix A, Part II.

β Πεςὶ νόμων, xii. p. 956. Appendix A, No. 1.

to them. Dyed garments," he adds, "I should not be offered, save only as ornaments of war."

Brilliant and gaudy colours, lastly, had some more special associations of which a few words may be said before proceeding further.

And first, these more brilliant colours which could only be added to wool by art, and were very costly, were naturally associated in men's minds with ideas either of the splendour and luxury of the more wealthy, or of the ornate costume appropriated to designation of royal or official dignity. More especially was this the case with regard to purple, which from its exceeding costliness was reserved, commonly, for designation of imperial rank, or to be worn by those, who from delegated office, or special privilege of favour, were allowed to wear imperial colours. Thus the Emperor Commodus, near the close of the second century, writes to Albinus, then high in

y He refers of course to red, or colours approaching to red (blood-red), which have ever had a special association with the idea of war. The red shirt of Garibaldi's troops, of which we heard so much not long since, was the signal for battle with the Legions of the Republic two thousand years ago.

δ Ποικίναι, ἀνθηφαὶ, ἐσθῆτες with the Greeks, answering to the piετα vestes of Roman writers. With these are contrasted in ancient writers ἐδιόχεοα είματα, or nativi colores, the natural colours belonging to various kinds of wool. Some curious information as to the varieties of natural colour in wools, will be found in the Treatise of Lazarus Baysius, De Re Vest. p. 563. Apulia was famous for its white wools; Spain for black; Liguria (the city Pollentia is specially named) for red; and Tarentum for the various

shades of tawny yellow defignated by the epithet fulvus.

a The purpura itself varied in price according to the varieties of quality and of manufacture [See Ferrarius De Re Vest. lib. ii. cap. 7.]. The Tyrian δίβαφον was the most costly; next to it the Tarentine dye; and, lastly, a much cheaper dye of home manufacture, such as was used at Rome in the earlier and simpler days of the Republic, and was retained (owing to the consecration imparted by long custom) in the dresses of some of the Roman magistracies to a much later time.

ζ Capitolinus in Albino, Hist. Aug. Sane ut tibi aliquod Imperialis majestatis accedat, habebis utendi coccinei pallii facultatem, habiturus et purpuram, sed sine auro. his favour, and in command of the Roman forces in Britain, and tells him that in order to confer upon him fomething of imperial greatness, he gives him license to wear a scarlet mantle (pallium coccineum) even in the presence of the emperor, and to wear the purple, but without decorations of gold.

The higher magistrates, too, under the empire, as previously under the republic, wore, on state occasions, a togal bordered (prætexta) with purple. This was always the case when they presided at the public games; occasionally also, when taking part, officially, in public sacrifice.

It is worth noting that at Rome the toga pratexta (or toga pitta), which, with the embroidered tunic (tunica palmata) worn beneath it, was referved for these state occasions, was not the private property of the various magistrates on whom it devolved to wear it, but belonged to the State, and was laid up in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, or in the Palatium. The Emperor Gordian was the first to make a change in this respect, and to provide himself, while yet a private citizen, with a tunica palmata and toga pitta of his own.

Not to dwell further upon particulars of this kind, let us now further take note that as bright and brilliant colours*

n See the Confular Diptychs photographed among the Illustrations of this volume. Plates XXII., XXIII.

θ Thus, for instance, Appian (Ἐμφύλια, iii. apud Ferrarium) speaks of Asellius
wearing, as prætor, εξὰν καὶ ἐπίχευσον
ἐσθῆτα, ὡς θυσία περικείμενος, a facred
vestment, adorned with gold, as being
occupied in facrisice. Compare the
mention of that ἐερὰ στολὰ which was
fent by Constantine to Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem, infra, p. 42.

Capitolinus in Gordiano, Hist. Aug. p. 370. Palmatam tunicam et togam pictam primus Romanorum privatus suam propriam babuit: cum ante Im-

peratores etiam de Capitolio acciperent, vel de Palatio. The dresses kept in the Palatium would be those of the Pontifex Maximus, whose official residence was part of the "Palace of Augustus."

^{*} I may notice here one exceptional affociation of idea with purple, that of having "a certain affinity with death," as Artemidorus (quoted in Appendix A) has noted. We may trace the fame feeling in the use of purple (violet) as a colour of mourning in the Greek Church (See p. 174), and in court etiquette.

are fuch as naturally attract the eye and draw attention to those who wear them, garments of brilliant colour, if not worn in official costume, were regarded, not by Christians only, but in the ancient world generally, as immodest and meretricious.

Dress of Heathen Priesthood.

Before we pass on further, it may be well to state, that while white garments were, as we have feen, regarded as specially appropriate to religious solemnity of all kinds, they were not in heathen notion regarded as the infignia of the higher official priesthoods." Two reasons there were why this should not be. One, that where white dress was worn, or at least might be worn, by all, some distinctive dress was required, when the object was to mark out one or another as the possessor of any special hierarchical dignity. The other reason was this, that there were special consecrations of colour, so to fpeak, to particular divinities, either from natural or conventional affociations, which made of these colours a kind of livery appropriate to fuch gods. When we find purple fpoken of as fpecially characteristic of Priests of Dionysus" (or Bacchus), or of Mars, we can hardly doubt that in this there was thought had of the purple vine, or of the juice of the grape, in the one case, of the blood of the battle-field in the other. And so, too, in those many other instances in which purple is found affociated with the drefs of those honorary priesthoods, whether in Asia Minor, in Greece, or in Italy,

λ One passage may suffice in confirmation. Pliny, alluding to the dyes produced in Gaul [then as now proverbial for love of gay dress: cf. Martial, Epig. xiv. 129], speaks of them as furnishing per quod facilius matrona adultero placeat, corruptor insidietur

nuptæ (Hist. Nat. xxii. cap. 11).

μ Evidence for the flatements here following, concerning the costume of heathen priesthood, will be found in Appendix A. See No. 12, to 18.

[»] See Appendix A, No. 15.

of which we find fuch frequent mention in antiquity. \$ almost all of them the tunic of official costume had its stripes of purple; in almost all, the super-vestment, whatever its shape might be, was either bordered (prætexta) with rich ornament, or wholly made of purple, of scarlet, or of both combined. And here again the reason may probably be traced to the idea of fetting forth authority, as of a royal priesthood, by the royal purple of official dress. The actual facrificers, on the other hand, wore not those flowing vestments. Amid those fouler forms of heathenism which prevailed in many parts of the East, the nakedness of the priests was a natural accompaniment to rites of revolting groffness. But even in Italy and Greece the dress of the actual facrificers was for obvious reasons a very scanty one. They were nudi (or γυμνοί) in the conventional * fense of the word; at times, too, if we may judge by monuments, not in a conventional fense only. [See the figures of the facrificing priests in Pl. III., and the central figure in Pl. VI.; and contrast with these the figure of the Greek aexiseeds in Pl. VII.]

§ 3. Associations of Colour to the Mind of Christians of the Primitive Time.

The various ideas above spoken of as associated generally

without fuper-vestment of any kind, was a fight common enough in the country; but in capital cities, and in important towns, for a man of position so to appear would have been thought as strange as it would be for one in like position now to walk down Regent Street in his shirt-sleeves. Hence the various meanings of the words nudus and yours. It may mean (often does mean) "clad in tunic only;" it may mean (sometimes does mean) actually naked.

ž See Appendix A, No. 12 to 18.

The Priests of whom I here speak were regarded in the later Republican Constitutions, both of Greece and Rome, as inheritors of that "royal Priesthood" which had formerly been vested in their kings. Hence the retention of the royal title, "Αρχων Βωσιλεύς, Rex Sacrificulus, for religious ceremony, in cities where in any other connection the title of king would not have been endured.

π A man clad in a tunic only,

in men's minds with particular colours, or classes of colours, had come to be so associated, not from any singularity of fashion peculiar to any one age or country, but as the result of natural causes, and of the ordinary conditions of civilised society.

The use of those gay and brilliant colours, for example, of which we last spoke, is to be explained precisely in the same way, whether they were worn as decorations of official costume, for the greater dignity of a court, or to minister to vanity, or worse than vanity, by those who assumed them only for the sake of personal decoration. In all cases the effect at least was the same, that of attracting the eyes of men to him or to her who wore them, and of marking them out from others among whom they moved. And this effect was the more easily secured because the great costliness of those more brilliant colours was such, as to prevent their being adopted by any but a very sew.

In going on now to confider the language of early Christian writers upon this subject of colour, we must bear in mind that they were influenced not only by those traditionary feelings which were common to the ancient world, but also by the language of Holy Scripture, by the usages of the Church of which they formed a part, and lastly by a natural repugnance to all that savoured of heathen forms of worship.

The witnesses of chief importance for this first period of four hundred years, are St. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and St. Jerome.

The first of these, a native, there is a reason to think, of Athens, but resident during the greater part of his life at Alexandria, had "visited the cities, and learnt to know the mind of many men." He had travelled in Magna Græcia,

e Quoted in Appendix A, No. 36 to 43; Tertullian, ibid. No. 44 to 46; but he died A.D. 220. St. Jerome, infra, p. 34.

in Palestine, in Syria, in Egypt; and everywhere he had fought to the most learned of every land, that he might add to the stores of varied knowledge which he had acquired. And as a witness, therefore, for the feeling of primitive Christendom in a matter such as this, it would be difficult, nay, not possible, to find one better qualified than is he.

The book from which I quote is the Παιδαγωγός, "The Divine Guide in the path of Christian Life." In the second and third books of that treatise he has frequently occasion to speak on the subject of dress, of personal ornament, and the like. And we find him giving expression again and again, and in the strongest manner, to precisely the same feelings in respect both of bright and brilliant colours, and of white, which we have already traced elsewhere, and adding thereto much that reminds at once of the new atmosphere of religious thought, which now at length we breathe.

For to St. Clement too, as to others to whom we have been liftening, these dyed garments, coloured like unto slowers, form a fitting garb only for women that are without modesty, and men that are without manhood. In his eyes they savour of falsehood, and of treachery; they are proofs of a corrupted taste, they are signs of an evil disposition. But, on the other hand, white to him is the appropriate garb "for men of peaceful heart and inwardly illuminate." White he deems the colour besitting all solemnity and reverence; and he quotes with delight the "excellent Plato," "herein as in other things a follower of Moses," as one in opinion with himself upon this matter.

But it may be objected to the relevancy of all this, and of much else to the same effect which might be quoted, that he is speaking of these brilliant colours as worn in ordinary life, not of any such when consecrated to the service of the Christian sanctuary.

τ For the expressions which follow, see Appendix A, Nos. 36 to 43.

Most true. It would not become me to say in reply that the reason of this filence is that he had never heard or dreamt of any fuch confecration. For this would be affuming the very point in dispute. But I will appeal to all my readers, let their prepossessions on this question be what they may, and I will ask whether on any other supposition it is possible to account for his using language such as this which follows. Had he known of vestments "coloured like unto flowers" being used in highest offices of Christian ministration, could he possibly have faid, as now we may hear him fay, that together with the dealers in costly ointments and the preparers of incense, the dyers of various wools should be banished one and all from the Commonwealth of Truth? Could he in that case have faid, as in fact he does, that "these colours bright like flowers are fit only for the worshippers of Bacchus, for the mummeries of heathen mysticism, for the vanities of the stage?" One only answer can be given to such a question, by any save those (to use St. Clement's own words) to whose imagination, as unto men mad, white and black are both alike.

I will not now detain my reader by further quotations, in proof of the feeling of the primitive age in respect of those varieties of colour of which alone we have spoken hitherto. Those who would pursue the subject further will find the means of doing so in the passages collected in the Appendix. At present I have only to point out, that in the moral scale of colours, as recognised at the time of which we speak, there was a middle point between the solemnity of a pure or brilliant white, and the luxurious extragavance of the more costly dyes. Sober colours there were, or, as commonly they were called, natural or native colours," which were recognised as sitted for the every-day garb of the sober-minded Christian

υ Nativi colores, ὶδιόχροα είματα, are terms of frequent occurrence. Compare note δ, p. xviii.

man or woman. Such fober colours we may fee depicted in the feries of plates (XVIII. to XXI.) from the Church of St. George at Thessalonica, among the illustrations of this volume. And with this hint to guide us, in addition to what has already been said in earlier pages of this Introduction, we shall have no difficulty, I think, in apprehending the general nature, at least, of the dress, which in the passage now following is described.

§ 4. THE Dress of Christian Men and Women worshipping in the Assemblies of the Church.

It is St. Clement that speaks: —

"The wife and the husband should take their way unto the church, in feemly apparel, with unaffected gait, and speech restrained; having love unseigned; pure in body and pure in heart; fitly decked for prayer to God. And this further let the woman have: let her wholly cover her head, (unless perchance she be at home), for so dressed she will have respect, and be withdrawn from gazing eyes. And if thus with modesty, and with a veil, she covereth her own eyes, she shall neither be misled herself, nor shall she draw others, by the exposure of her face, into the dangerous path of sin. For this willeth the Word; feeing that it is meet for the woman that she pray with covered head. . . . But then so as they, who are joined to Christ, adorn themselves, in a more folemn fashion, for assemblies of the church, even such should they ever be, even so be fashioned, all the days of their life. 'To be, not feem to be,' let that be their watchword; gentle, reverend, full of holy love, at one time not less than at another.

φ "As there is a drefs," fays St. lors, to magistrates, so is there a garb Clement, "proper to soldiers, to fail besitting the sobriety of the Christian."

"But it is not fo indeed. Somehow doth it come about, that, with change of place, they change both their habit and their manners; even as the polypus is faid to change each one his colour, to the femblance of the rock whereby he dwells." [Pædag. lib. iii. p. 300.]



From a Syriac MS. of the year 586 A.D.

CHAPTER IV.

DIRECT EVIDENCE AS TO THE DRESS OF CHRISTIAN MINISTRY DURING THE FOUR FIRST CENTURIES.

In the two last Chapters sufficient has been said to enable the reader to appreciate, at their true value, the facts which will present themselves, now that we enter upon the consideration of the direct evidence applicable to the question before us.

That evidence naturally divides itself under two heads; and of these we may first consider that afforded by the earliest monuments of Christian art.

I will ask the reader to refer to the series of Plates numbered XIV., XV., and XVII., among the illustrations of this volume, and to bring to bear upon their interpretation those general distinctions, as to form and colour, with which we have been hitherto occupied. He will see, I think, at once, that the dress there portrayed is one, which, in those earliest ages now in question, would be suggestive to the mind by its form of occasions of especial solemnity, and by its colour of a garb suited, as none else could be, to such as should minister before God in the courts of His house.

Of those Plates, the two first are representative (the first, probably, and without doubt the second) of our Lord seated on a central Throne, with His Apostles on either hand, seated, or standing, about Him. In another very similar fresco x to these, the twelve Apostles, seated on secondary $\theta g \delta v o u$, or apostolic

χ Given by Perret in his great work on the Catacombs, vol. iii. Pl. xxxv.

thrones, on either fide of our Lord (nearly as in Pl. XIV.), realife exactly one of the pictures of the heavenly kingdom fet forth to us by our Lord Himfelf; a kingdom which is upon earth, though not "of" ψ the earth, wherein He, our Lord, fitteth upon His "throne of glory," while to the twelve, by delegation from their Lord, it is given to fit upon twelve thrones, judging (i.e. ruling) " the twelve tribes of the fpiritual Ifrael.

And this type of Apostolic dress, I may observe in passing, is preserved by the traditions of the Church, and especially appropriated to the Twelve, throughout almost all the later centuries of Christian art.

For our present purpose, however, it is yet more important to note, that in the earliest Christian representation of any of the more solemn acts of religion by bishops, priests, or deacons (I refer to Pl. XVII.), the dress attributed to them is, as might have been expected on à priori grounds, almost an exact counterpart of that which we have already seen attributed to the Apostles.

In few words, one who examined those early monuments of the primitive age, with a competent knowledge of the habits, and the associations of colour, characteristic of that time, would come to the conclusion that the dress he there saw was exactly such as we have pointed to in the three preceding Chapters. He would see there a garb which thus far differed from the dress ordinarily worn, that by its form and colour it would at once suggest the solemn office of them who wore it, whether as drawing near on behalf of God's people unto God, or as His servants and messengers delivering to His people the messages of the Divine word, and the sacraments of His Divine grace.

ψ èx expressing origin. See Eirenica, p. 75, note 14.

ω Matt. xix. 28, commented on

And now we have only to turn, in the second place, to the second source of available evidence which is open to us, and we shall find the strongest confirmation of the conclusions just stated. The contemporary references to any dress of actual ministry in the Church, are, in the first four centuries, very sew. But what there are, point all (or almost all*) to the same conclusion. In the second part of this treatise will be found all the chief passages from early writers that can be brought to bear upon this question. And among these there are some to which, as containing a direct reference to the subject now before us, I will now ask more particular attention.

The first occurs in the Commentary \$ of St. Jerome on Ezekiel, cap. xliv. His subject there had led him to speak of the dress worn by "Egyptian priests, not only within their temples, but without also." He then adds (see note 53, p. 31), Porro religio divina alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitaque communi. "Moreover that worship which is of God has one habit in (holy) ministry, another for the usage of common life." In a note on that passage (note 53) I have pointed out, that the primary reference at least of these words is (as context shows) to Jewish rather than to Christian observances. But a comparison with other passages of the fame author will justify the belief expressed in the note to which I allude, viz. that St. Jerome has purposely here chosen a very inclusive term, "religio divina," as having in his mind the usages of the Church in his own time, as well as those of the Jewish priesthood in times past. I should not myself rest any weight upon a passage of such doubtful reference. But as writers on ritual habitually quote this passage (and generally without any reference to its context), it may be well to point out that the utmost the passage will prove is this, that there was a difference of some kind between the habit worn in ordinary life, and that which was recognifed as proper

^{*} See Appendix B.

to fervices of holy ministry. And this I for one should regard as so felf-evident (I might almost say) as to require no proof from isolated passages such as this.

A difference there was beyond all doubt, but in what did that difference confift?

Another passage in the same commentary will advance us yet one further step, and a somewhat more secure one, in replying to this question. At p. 30 (see also note 51) will be found a somewhat clearer intimation of what St. Jerome thought to be the "habitus religionis." Having to speak of the holy vestments worn by the Levitical priests, and which they were required to put off before leaving the sanctuary, he adds, "By all which we learn, that we too ought not to enter into the most holy place in our everyday garments, just such as we will, when they have been defiled from the usage of ordinary life; but with a clean conscience, and in clean garments (mundis vestibus) hold in our hands the sacraments of the Lord."

The word mundus, which he here employs as the characteristic epithet for the dress of Christian ministry, is one which to no dress could more fitly be applied, than to one white, bright, and of stately solemnity, such as that which is presented to us in the Plates to which I have referred. And if any doubt still remain as to what was the colour, which in St. Jerome's time (the close of the fourth century) was thought proper to the highest offices of Christian ministry, that doubt will be removed by yet a third passage (see p. 57, Part II.), in which, when defending the usages of the Church against the strictures of Pelagius, he asks, what offence there would be against God if "in the administration of the holy things (sacrificiorum) bishop, presbyter, and deacons, and other officers of the Church (reliquus ecclesiasticus ordo) should come forward dressed in white garments."

 $[\]gamma$ On the meaning of mundus see note 57, p. 34.

Before we quit this subject of colour it may be proper to notice an argument by which some among ourselves have fought to found a claim to antiquity for the "fplendid" vestments now worn in the Roman Church. Unable to refift the force of evidence which they found absolutely inconfistent with the idea of the primitive dress of Christian ministry having been modelled upon that of the Levitical priesthood, they yet contend for "fplendid" dreffes, brilliant in colour, having been worn as Eucharistic vestments even in primitive times. The two passages to which they refer are a "rubric," (fo to call it) in the Liturgy appended to the "Apostolical Constitutions," and one which speaks of Constantine the Great having sent a "facred vestment" (ίεραν στολήν) made of gold tissue, to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem. As for this last piece of evidence the reader has only to refer to the original passage (p. 42) in which this story is first told, to see that it proves nothing about Eucharistic vestments at all, for Constantine sent it to be worn in the administering of holy baptism. He will find too that the successor of Macarius, Cyril Bishop of Jerusalem, fold b this vestment not very long after, and that it passed into the hands of a stage-dancer. The truth is, that this custom of emperors distributing splendid garments, as marks of honour, had now become common in the West, as it long continued to be; and Constantine, with his half-heathen, half-Christian notions about religion, may not improbably have fent to Macarius one of the ίεραὶ στολαὶ which had been laid up (as was the custom of the times) in fome Roman temple, for the use on festal days, of Flamen, of Pontiff, or of Augur. If fo, I may add, it was probably taken from his own Vestiarium Pontificium, from the store

Nicephorus, the Byzantine hiftorian, alluding to this flory many centuries later, fays that fome supposed that Bishop Cyril fold it in time of famine in order to feed the poor.

But he adds, that it is difficult to suppose this could have been, else why was not this desence offered at the time in excuse to the emperor?

of splendid vestments reserved for the emperor's use in his character of Pontifex Maximus.

The other passage referred to deserves particular notice, were it only as affording a notable proof of the little weight to be attached to isolated phrases of ancient authors, quoted, as they often are, in English, without reference to the original language, or to the context in which they occur; or, as in this case, of passages from Liturgies, the framework of which may be very ancient, but which have been largely interpolated from time to time, as, on the most conclusive evidence it is evident that they have been.

In the instance before us, a rubrical direction is quoted from the Liturgy of St. Clement, prescribing that the priest should commence his office λαμπρὰν ἐσθῆτα μετενδύς. This expression proves, as it is argued, that splendid garments were in use for Christian ministry from an early period of the third century, to which this Liturgy may not improbably be assigned.

The simple answer is this. First as regards the authority quoted, it is for the most part impossible to determine whether any particular passage in any of the Liturgies, as they now come into our hands, is a portion of the original Liturgy or not. We know, both by direct testimony, and by internal evidence, that even those Liturgies whose framework is really ancient, have been largely added to from time to time; and that the rubrical directions more particularly are in almost all cases

The Romans, he fays, having received their "Use" from St. Peter, fuis quique temporibus, quæ congrua judicata funt addiderunt. On the endless variation in the various MSS. of the Greek Liturgies, and the uncertainties of the Rubrics, see the Introduction to Goar's Euchologium Græcorum.

ζ There is a remarkable passage in Walasrid Strabo bearing upon this point and worthy of especial attention (De Rebus Eccl.). After describing the great simplicity with which in primitive times mass was celebrated, he goes on to say that as time went on, multi apud Græcos et Latinos missæ ordinem, ut sibi visum est, statuerunt.

of comparatively recent date. Therefore, even if the meaning of the Rubric here quoted really were what those who quote it suppose, nothing would really be proved as to the usage of the Church at the time (possibly the third century) in which, in its earliest form, the Liturgy was originally composed.

But, fecondly, in point of fact, the meaning of the paffage (whether genuine or not) is exactly the reverse of what an uncritical reader might suppose. For the word $\lambda \alpha \mu \pi g \partial \varsigma$, which means literally "shining" ($\lambda \dot{\alpha} \mu \pi \epsilon u$), is the word habitually used in the later Greek writers in speaking of a "shining" or glistening white; corresponding to the Latin candidus. And this disposes of the only plausible objection which, as far as I know, has been made to the conclusion already stated.

On a review, then, of the whole evidence from early literature bearing upon this question, we should conclude, without doubt, that the dress appropriate to the most solemn offices of holy ministry, during the primitive age, was white.

And if we turn next to the monumental evidence, whether in the frescoes of the Roman Catacombs, or in the mosaics of early churches at Rome, Ravenna, Constantinople, we shall find that it confirms in the strongest manner the conclusion, which by a separate path we shall have already reached.

And lastly, I may add, that the traditions of the Church, both in literature and in art, for nearly a thousand years after the primitive period with which we are now occupied, bear witness incidentally to the same conclusion. Again and again, we even in mediæval writers, do we find recognition of

n See note 19, p. 9. And to the passages there referred to, add No. 3, p. 176 in Appendix A, and note τ, p. xiii.

[#] See Plates XI., XII., XIV., XV., XVII.

[,] See Plate XXIX.

[«] See Plate XXVIII.

A See Weiß, fig. 65 (Tracht und Geräth u. s. w.), p. 125. And with this compare the figure of St. James given in Pl. LXIII.

μ See, for example, Hugo à S. Victore, quoted p. 131; and Symeon of Thessalonica, quoted p. 171, l. 8.

white vestments as being the *proper* garb of Christian miniftry. And in the later, art monuments exhibited in this volume, it will be seen, that the dress attributed to the Apostles in the frescoes of the Roman Catacombs, and in early monuments of the East, is reproduced century after century as their special characteristic, long after the general type of ministering dress had been altogether changed.

On every ground, then, we may accept without hefitation a conclusion, in which all the best authorities on the subject are agreed; and hold that white was the colour appropriated in primitive times to the dress of Christian ministry.

v See, for example, Pl. XXXVIII., XLV.



From a Syriac MS. of the year 586 A.D.

CHAPTER V.

ORNAMENT OF THE PRIMITIVE DRESS OF CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

OF OFFICIAL INSIGNIA GENERALLY.

The points of chief importance concerning the primitive dress of holy ministration have been examined in the preceding chapters. But there are still some minor particulars which it seems desirable here to notice, with a view to the suller understanding of the art monuments of antiquity, and of allusions which frequently are made in the pages of old writers.

§ 1. ORNAMENT OF PRIMITIVE VESTMENTS.

And, first, a few words must be said concerning the peculiar ornament which may be seen in almost all the more ancient representations of dress sigured in this volume.

A special interest attaches to this ornament, owing to the fact that in appearance and in colour (though not in name), it presents an almost exact resemblance to the scarf or stole now customarily worn in the English Church.

On the walls & of Roman Catacombs, and in the mosaics of early churches at Rome, Ravenna, and elsewhere, the long **

See, for example, the figures of the Magi in the woodcut at p. vi. Regarded as just arriving from a journey, they have a short tunic (itineri babilis, see note 203, p. 105) assigned to them. But this ornament is added as an indication of dignity.

ξ See Plates XI., XII., XIV., XV., XVI., XVII.

See Plates XXVIII., and for Ravenna, fee Plate XXIX.

π Occasionally also the short tunic, when for special reasons this is assigned, exceptionally, to dignified persons.

tunic of more folemn dress is almost invariably represented with the addition of an ornamental stripe, extending from between the neck and shoulders, on either side, to the lower edge of the tunic. In some cases similar stripes are represented running round the lower extremity of the sleeve. [Pl. V. and XXVIII.]

Similar ornaments are to be feen in other representations of Roman dress, as, for example, in some of the illustrations of the Vatican Virgil, dating from the fourth century.

But this ornament is by no means peculiar to the costume of Rome. We find on the walls of the Catacombs, not only our Lord and His Apostles, but Abraham, Moses, the "Three Children," and other Easterns, wearing a tunic so ornamented. But from this, if this were all, we could not infer more with certainty, than that the Christian painters of the second, third, or fourth centuries, to whom those frescoes are to be traced, believed this ornament to be common in the East as it was among themselves. But, in point of fact, we have abundant evidence, both in literature and in art, which proves that they were right in fo thinking. The ornamental tunics of heathen priesthood, for example, in the Tyrian colonies, and in Tyre itself, were distinguished, as we have seen, by stripes of purple. And the seventy translators in their rendering of Isaiah, iii. 21, speak of garments which are ftriped (μεσοπόεφυεα) and bordered (πεειπόεφυεα) with purple. And the stripes of purple there spoken of differed only in colour and material, but not in form, from the fimple ornament commonly worn on the full-dress tunic of ordinarye people.

So common, indeed, is this particular kind of ornament

ς Compare the comment of St. κῶν ὡς περίεργον διαβάλλει, ποςΦύραν Basil, tom. i. p. 661, D. Τὸν ἐν τῆ πότε μὲν κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα παρυφαινόντων, ἐσθῆτι κόσμον τῶν καλλωπιζομένων γυναι- πότε δὲ κατὰ τὸ μέσον αὐτὴν ἐντιθέντων.

in early monuments, both in the East o and in the West, that I cannot but suppose it to have originated in some simple cause, incident to the prevailing form of the garment now in question. It may be conjectured that in joining together the various "breadths," of linen or woollen stuff, out of which the tunic was to be made, a seam was made from between the neck and shoulders on either side down to the lower edge; and that these ornamental stripes were so sewn on as to hide (compare p. 3, l. 27) what would otherwise have been unsightly, and yet admit of being easily removed when the tunic itself needed washing.

What has been faid hitherto points onward to a further point of interest concerning the ecclesiastical dress of the primitive age. We know that various grades of rank were distinguished at Rome, from very early times, by the colour and by the relative width of the ornamental stripes worn upon the tunic by senators, and by knights. Whether two such were worn, stole-wise, or one only, is uncertain. But, however, this may be, the broad clavus was the distinctive mark of a senator; the narrow clavus of a knight. And it is wholly in accordance with this, that in one of the monuments sigured in this volume (see Plate XIV), the black lora (or "clavi") on the tunica talaris, worn by our Lord, are considerably larger than those worn by the six persons (probably Apostles) in the midst of whom He is seated.

Facts fuch as these would lead us antecedently to expect, that distinctions between the higher and the lower offices of

in a white tunic under an outer garment of reddish brown. And this white tunic (στιχάξιον, it would probably be called by those who originally drew it) has narrow black stripes by way of ornament, which exactly correspond with the lora, or ornamental stripes, of the Roman Dalmatic.

σ A remarkable example may be feen in a very ancient fresco in a rock-church at Urgub, in Mesopotamia. See Texier, B.A., Pl. V. One of the principal figures (representing, probably, one of the Old Testament prophets) seen approaching with reverence to the Holy Child before him, is dressed

the Christian ministry might probably be indicated, in early times, by means of these ornamental stripes. The history of the "dalmatic," which was just such an ornamented tunic as that now described, strongly confirms the probability that this was really the case; and of this we shall shortly have occafion to fpeak more at length.

For the present it is only necessary to add, that these ornamental stripes vary in colour, according to the colour of the dress upon which they are worn. But in all the examples of white drefs, worn by Apostles or by ecclesiastics, belonging to the first 600 years of Christian history, these stripes, as far as I have observed, are invariably black.

But it was not only by these ornaments on the tunic that difference of official rank could be indicated. We have abundant evidence to show, that, at Rome, almost every modification of the ordinary dress had a certain well-understood fignificance in the eyes of men. The unufual-fulness, or the scant dimensions, of toga or of pallium, were as fignificant then, as is the long graceful train that fweeps the ground now worn by ladies of fashion, when contrasted with the shorter, simpler dress of those who, from motives of economy, or for any other reason, study convenience and comfort rather than stately beauty and grace. And as with the outer garment (whether toga or pallium), so with the tunic also. Nay, fo minute and rigorous was the etiquette of dress at Rome under the Empire, that people of any position varied the kind of shoes which they wore, according to the nature of the upper garment in which they might be clad. And we shall find, when we come to examine the later monuments bearing upon the subject here under discussion, that distinctions such as these, familiar to Romans and to Greeks under the imperial

τ As among ourselves, for example, members of Cathedral bodies, and to the right of wearing a "fcarf" is the chaplains of noblemen. given, in the Canons, to fuch as are

fystem, were reproduced from time to time in the regulations made for the ministering dress of the Church.

§ 2. Official Insignia.

But distinctions of dress, minute and varied though they may be, are, for the most part, not sufficient of themselves to serve as expressions for all those diversities of rank and office, which are characteristic of highly civilised states. Therefore is it that in such states the custom has at all times obtained, of marking out, by conventional symbols, both grades of relative dignity, and varieties of official occupation. Of these conventional symbols, two classes may be particularly noticed: those which are worn upon the head, symbols mostly of authority; and those borne in the hand, symbols, for the most part, of special departments of activity.

Ornaments, first, of the head. To the head, the crown and apex of the human form, itself the noblest and most god-like of all created things,—to the head, which with a nod, or with a glance, or with an uttered word, can give expression to the Sovereign Will which therein fits enthroned,—to this, by a natural instinct, men have ever assigned the symbols of power to rule, whether with a supreme and all-embracing rule, as did great kings, or in special departments of delegated authority, as did others in their name.

But the hand, also, the organ and instrument of that sovereign will, furnishes significant expression, by appropriate symbols, of the various sields of special activity in which the powers of man find exercise. The sceptre of the king, the lituus of the augur, the written scroll of philosopher or man

v It is not an eafy matter to determine what was the *original* affociation of idea in confequence of which the word σχηπτρον, for example, superadded

to its primitive meaning of a "flaff," or flout flick, that of "fceptre" or fymbol of royalty, actual or delegated. In what we read in the Iliad of fuch a

of law, the instruments of sacrifice of the heathen priest, the pastoral staff of Christian bishop, or the book of the Gospels held in his hand, these, and other such, are significant, each of some special department of official ministration, to which prominence is given by the mere fact of such symbolic representation.

We may apply these general principles to the subject immediately before us. In Egyptian monuments we find the fymbols of priesthood to be either fuch as could be worn upon the head, a high cap or mitre, indicative of authority; or fuch as could be carried in the hand. And these last, again, are of two kinds: instruments of facrifice, marking them out as facrificers; or a roll of papyrus inscribed with hieroglyphics, indicative of their office as keepers and expounders of divine knowledge. And at an interval of some two thousand years, we find the fame fymbolic language employed in Christian art. On the walls of the Catacombs the Divine power of our Lord is fymbolifed by "the rod of power" which He holds, when working miracles; His office as "The Word," the revealer of Divine truth to man, by the inscribed scroll which He holds, or by the two open capfe on His right hand and on His left, filled each with written scrolls, and representative, we cannot doubt, of the Old and New Testament [Pl. XII.]. And, lastly, His own revelation of Himself as the true Manna, as the Bread of Life, as one whose Body offered on the Cross, and whose Blood thereon outpoured, are the food of them that hunger, and the refreshment of them that thirst: this, too, is fet forth again and again in the feven baskets filled with

followers for council of battle or, in time of peace for judgment of wrong done, the "right of the staff" would be frequently exercised, both for the maintenance of order, and for the punishment of offenders.

σκῆπτου being laid, and that with a heavy hand, upon the shoulders of Thersites, we have, if I mistake not, an indication of the original use from which this "staff" was derived. In the rude assemblies wherein a warrior chief gathered about him his armed

bread which He hath bleffed and broken; in loaves, marked with a crofs, which He bears in His own bosom.

But that which now more specially concerns us is the question of the Insignia, with which, in early Christian monuments, either the Apostles themselves, or their successors in offices of Christian ministry, were invested. One φ such monument there is, and one only I believe, in which the Apostles are represented as wearing a peaked cap, such as in ancient times was known as a $\tau i \alpha \varphi \alpha$ (see note 84, p. 52). This representation would serve to indicate the "royal priesthood" with which the Lord had invested them. And thus the monument, of which I now speak, offers an exact parallel to one or two exceptional passages in ancient authors, in which this same idea is either alluded z to, or (as by Epiphanius) φ expressly stated.

A fimilar fuggestion of power to rule, committed to the Twelve, under Christ, and by delegation from Him, is set forth by the apostolic thrones on which they are sometimes represented as seated. [See Frontispiece, and compare note χ , p. xxviii.]

With these exceptions (the first of which appears to have been unobserved hitherto by writers on ritual), the insignia of Apostles, in the early monuments of Christian art, are such, as mark them out as the deliverers of a Divine message, of the "Word of God," to man. This their office is indicated by the "scroll" † held in their hand, a "volumen" (note 79, p. 50) in the original sense of the word. At times, however, we find in place of this scroll a "martyr's crown," or chaplet, held in the hand. Thus, in a remarkable monument, of which

φ Ciampini, Vet. Mon. tom. i. Pl. LXX.

x See the letter of Bishop Polycrates, quoted at p. 38, and compare note 62. And see further, on this side of the question, the passage re-

ferred to in Appendix B.

 $[\]psi$ See the passage quoted at p. 40, and refer to note 65.

[†] See Pl. XII., XIII., XXIX., and the figure of St. Peter, Pl. XLV.

there is a drawing in the collection at Windsor, our Lord is represented between St. Paul (at His right hand) and St. Peter (on the left); and while St. Paul holds the scroll of an apostle, St. Peter holds in his hands the chaplet (corona) which designates his martyrdom.

The special designations by which particular Apostles were indicated (as still they are) in the later and more developed symbolism of Christian art, are not met with in the primitive period with which we are now concerned.

Passing on now from the Apostles themselves to the various orders of the Christian ministry, we find that a chair † of state (sedes or radioga), or "episcopal throne," serves to mark the authority to rule committed to a bishop; while his office as a teacher of Divine truth is indicated by the Book of the Gospels, which he holds in his left hand. From a passage of great interest in a sermon attributed to St. Chrysostom (see note 89, p. 53), we learn that at the consecration of bishops, the book of the Gospels was laid upon their heads, as being "the true evangelical tiara," and as a sign to the bishop himself, that "though he be head of all, yet doth he ast in subjection to God's laws; though he be ruler of all, yet is he too under rule to the law; though in all things a setter forth of the Word, yet is he himself, to that Word, in subjection."

The pastoral staff is first mentioned as one of the distinctive infignia of a bishop, in the acts of the Fourth

volume (a diptych of St. Paul), and in Pl. XI. (the "virga" or rod of power), XV., XVII. (the "throne" there represented, as in Aringhi, is, I should think, incorrectly drawn), XXIX. (the earliest example, as far as I know, of a "crozier," is there seen), XXX., XXXI. Later examples of such insignia may be seen in almost all later Plates published in this volume.

[†] See Pl. XVII., and for full details fee Martigny D. A. C. in voc. Chaire.

ω τῶν ἰερέων is the expression used. But context shows that by ἰερεὺς here, as after in early writers, is meant a bishop. Compare note 90, p. 54, and see Index in voc.

a The various infignia above mentioned (the "flaff" only excepted) may be feen in the Frontispiece to this

Council of Toledo (see infra, p. 75). But it does not appear to have been found in monuments of Christian art till the tenth century. Its symbolism is well set forth in a passage of Honorius, quoted later in this volume (p. 140). And whatever be the date of its first use as one of the distinctive insignia of a bishop, it serves, more fully and expressively perhaps than any other such symbol, to set forth that pastoral aspect of the ministerial office, which at all times, and in all places, has constituted its surest passport to the hearts and affections of God's people.



From a Syriac MS, of the year 586 A.D.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD FROM 400 TO 800 A.D.

WE enter now upon the fecond of the three periods, into which, for the purposes of this inquiry, the history of the Christian Church has been divided. This, and the succeeding period, may be treated much more briefly than the first, in which I have been obliged to occupy what is in some measure new ground,—new, at least, in connexion with the question, with which, in these pages, we are occupied.

At the very outset of this second period two sacts arrest our attention, as having had a momentous influence on the history of the Church generally. And this influence may be traced, as in other particulars of far more intrinsic importance, so also in this of ecclesiastical dress with which here we are more especially concerned.

The two facts of which I speak are, the dualization of the Roman empire, somewhat earlier in date, but to be traced in its effects throughout this period; and the first outburst, in the year 408, of that great flood of barbarian invasion, whose successive waves spread, with overwhelming force, over the face of Southern Europe. Goths, Vandals, Lombards, a "triple wave of woe," poured down in succession, from the North, upon the rich land which lay open, and almost undefended, to their attacks; and the older Roman civilisation was all but destroyed,—would have been destroyed

altogether, had not the spiritual force, that was in the Church, proved a more effectual safeguard, than the degenerate valour of the imperial armies.

The first of the two events above mentioned requires fpecial notice in this place, because the establishment of the imperial fystem in the "new Rome" of the Bosphorus, serves to account for the development of both civil and ecclefiaffical dress, in nearly parallel lines, at Constantinople and at Rome, during the period of 400 years with which we now are occupied. Let the reader examine the two monuments of confular costume, one of the East, the other of the West, among the illustrations of this volume (Plates XXII. and XXIII.), and he will fee at a glance, that not the official titles only, but the costume and infignia of the older Rome of the Seven Hills, had been transferred, before the date of those monuments, to the New Rome of the Bosphorus. And at Constantinople, not less than at Rome, modifications were brought about, during this transition period, in the dress of Christian ministry, owing to the application to ecclesiastical use of peculiarities of costume and of infignia, which were of the Empire, before they were of the Church.

And now, for reasons already indicated, we will confine our attention, for the present at least, to the churches of the West. And we shall have no difficulty in seeing how the political circumstances of those times were outwardly reslected, on the one hand, in the revolution effected in the general costume of civil life, and, on the other, in the spirit of confervatism, which maintained, in official costume at Rome, and in the ministering habits of the Church generally, that type of dress, characteristic of the older Roman civilisation, of which we have already treated at length in the earlier chapters of this Introduction.

A complete change was brought about, this first we have to note, in the ordinary costume of civil life. The type of

dress by which the invaders from the north were distinguished, differed widely from that older Roman habit (Eastern in its character), of which we spoke in the earlier chapters of this Introduction. The new dress was a dress for foldiers (a fagum, or short mantle, its prevailing form, worn over a short tunic like a Highland kilt); the old drefs, as we have feen (note &, p. ix.) a dress of citizens. The contrast between the new and the old type of dress may be seen at a glance, on comparing the dress of the Emperor Charlemagne in Pl. XXXIII. with that of the Emperor Justinian (which is of the older type with Byzantine additions) in Pl. XXVIII. And in a less exalted rank, we may compare the figure of the layman, in Pl. XXXVII., and that of Beno de Rapiza (somewhat later in date), in Pl. XLIII., with those of the courtiers in attendance on Justinian in the S. Vitale mosaic already referred to; with that of Gordianus (a fenator), in Pl. XXV., or with those of the feveral laymen represented in the mosaics of the Church of St. George in Thessalonica (Pl. XVIII. to XXI.).

The contrast between these two types of dress was matter of observation at the time; and adhering to the "old ways" was regarded as a mark of orthodoxy. That this was the case as late as the close of the fixth century, we have the evidence of the biographer (a very well-informed one) of St. Gregory the Great. Speaking of the household of the good bishop, whose life he writes, he says, "That not one among them, from the least to the greatest, had any taint of barbarism' (using the word in its Latin sense) either in speech or in dress; but the toga or the trabea, of old Latin usage, maintained distinctly the old Latin spirit, in that palace to which Latium had given a name." s

β Joan. Diac. Vita S. Gregorii, lib. ii. cap. 13. "Nullus Pontifici famulantium a minimo ufque ad maximum barbarum quodlibet in fermone

vel habitu præferebat; fed togata Quiritium more vel trabeata Latinitas fuum Latinum (Latium?) in ipfo Latiali palatio fingulariter obtinebat."

A passage such as this, even if it stood alone, would prepare us, after the facts that have already been confidered, to find that even as late as St. Gregory's time the old types of dress were still maintained, with little change, at Rome itself, however much they might be modified where the new influences were predominant. And in distinctly ecclesiastical dress, we find, accordingly, that, in some of the Roman monuments of that period, scarcely any difference is to be detected between the representations dating from that time, and those which we meet with in the "Ciclo Biblico" of the earlier Roman Catacombs. In the mosaic of the Church of St. Lorenzo (Pl. XXIX.), dating from just before the pontificate of St. Gregory, not only the Apostles, but the then Bishop of Rome, Pelagius, have the fame white vestments, with black lora, which we have already feen in earlier monuments (Pl. XIV. and XV.). And if Anastasius is to be understood literally when he fays, that Pelagius II. "made" (fecit) the Cemetery of St. Hermes, it must follow that the remarkable fresco represented in Pl. XVII. cannot be of earlier date than about the close of the fixth century.

I speak advisedly of "distinctly ecclesiastical dress," because we have to remember that the Bishops of Rome, from the close of the fourth century, occupied a great civil position also in the state. Their civil power was indeed wholly anomalous and undefined, and in theory subordinate to that of the Prafectus Urbis, Representative of the Emperor; but it was often very real, at a time when the titular magistracies were for the most part names and nothing more. And this will account for a phenomenon, so strange at first thought, as that of Christian bishops assuming, as insignia of their office, decorations derived from the civil magistracies of the old Roman republic. These magistracies were preserved first, under the Imperial system, as honorary distinctions, conferred by the emperor; and their insignia, at a later period still, were

imitated in ecclefiaftical use at Rome and Constantinople, and thence γ spread to other churches.

A most remarkable evidence of the close connection, to Roman ideas, between the dress of high civil magistracy and that of their own chief bishop, is to be found in the monument represented in Pl. XXIV., in which St. Gregory the Great is represented with nearly the same dress and insignia as would have been his had he been "Conful" under the empire, instead of "Præsul," in the Church. And the close resemblance between the dignisted dress of a senator, and that of a bishop of the Church, is well indicated in the plate immediately following (Pl. XXV.), in which, but for the Papal pallium, and the Book of the Gospels, carried (as one of the insignia of a bishop) in the left hand, it would be impossible (as Cardinal Baronius remarked long ago) to distinguish which were the senator, and which the bishop.

LITERARY MONUMENTS.

Turning now from these art-monuments to the contemporary notices of ecclesiastical dress, to be met with in ancient literature, it may be well here to point out one or two

γ To this, as regards Rome, Thomassinus bears testimony. De Ben. tom. ii. p. 327. "Constat ab ecclesia maxime Romana cæteras identidem varia extorsisse privilegia, ut cum ipsis magnificentiora quædam divini cultus indumenta communicarentur. Antiquissimas enim et pretiosissimas has vestes et frequentius usurpaverat, et retinuerat constantius, urbs Imperii totius regina. Imperatoriæ etiam in veste et ornatu magnificentiæ copia major sacta sucrat Ecclesiæ Romanæ.

Ab ea ergo effundebantur hi veluti pompæ gloriæque sacerdotalis rivuli in reliquum Christianum orbem."

This is a title frequently given to the Bishops of Rome in the earlier Roman documents.

The passages of chief importance are given in the later part of this work, pp. 42 to 87. Others will be found quoted in the chapter next following, in which the vestments in use at this period are separately noticed.

features which are common to all, and which it is important to note for the better understanding of the present question.

It will be found that passages quoted from writers of this period have reference, either to the vestments of Levitical ¿ priesthood, or to the dress and infignia which were regarded as proper to bishops, priests, deacons, or others holding offices of ministry in the Church. And as regards the first of these two classes, those in which the Levitical vestments are described or referred to, a marked distinction will be observed between the writers of this period and those of the succeeding centuries. If St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom (or the writer " who bears his name), if St. Gregory, or Venerable Bede, describe in detail the Levitical vestments, they do so without giving the slightest intimation that the vestments of Christian ministry correfponded in number, in form, and colour, or in name, with those of the older priesthood. Oftentimes, on the contrary, the language they employ shows, that they recognised the marked contrast between the two [Notes 94, 96, 101, 139]. But in the later writers, from the beginning of the ninth century [Notes 169, 170], we find, on the contrary, that the Levitical vestments are ever mentioned as the prototypes, to which those of Christian priesthood may be referred, and the names proper to the one are transferred, often upon the most imaginary grounds, to those which were then in use for offices of Christian ministry [Note 253].

But the class of passages, of which I have now been speaking, affords only negative and indirect evidence upon the

ζ See Nos. XII., XVI., XVII., XVII., XVIII., XIX., XX., XXVI., XXVII., XXIX. With these should be included the passages from St. Jerome (pp. 10 to 35). For these, though they precede by a few years the close of the fourth century, are the sources to which, directly or indirectly, all

the writers in the Western Church are mainly indebted for their know-ledge on the subject of the Levitical vestments. For apparent exceptions to the general statements of the text, see Appendix B.

n See note 80, p. 51.

history of the vestments of the Church. Of more direct interest are the passages, in which these last are enumerated and described. And among these, in regard of the West, I may here mention, as of chief interest and importance, the extracts (No. XXV., p. 68, $\int qq$.) from St. Isidore of Seville, and from the Acts (No. XXVIII., p. 75) of the Fourth Council of Toledo held under his presidency. For Eastern usage, some seventy years later, we have as a guide the description, given by St. Germanus of Constantinople (No. XXX., p. 82, $\int qq$.), of the vestments recognised in the East at the time he wrote. Of these we shall have to speak in detail, in the following chapter.

But before proceeding further, I may mention two passages as having a special interest for English readers. I refer to the extracts from the *De Tabernaculo* of Venerable Bede (p. 78, $\int qq$.), and to the nearly contemporary letter of St. Bonisace (Winifrid of Crediton) to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, quoted in note 209, p. 106.

Both of these passages date from an early period of the eighth century. And both show, though in different ways, what was the feeling of those times in respect of the questions now under discussion. We see, on the one hand, a man wise and learned, and of the greatest piety, such as Bede, still regarding the Levitical vestments in the same light precisely as had all the earlier Fathers. "The outward splendour," so he writes, "which, in the former times, shone brightly in ornamented vestments, is now to be spiritually understood; inwardly conspicuous in the hearts of Christian priests, and outwardly so also in their activity in all good works." And it is matter of interest to observe from what source he derived his thought, viz. from the service then in use for the consecration of bishops. In a very ancient MS, of the Liber Sacramentorum of St. Gregory the Great, edited by the

θ See note 135, p. 78, and Appendix B.

learned Benedictine Hugo Menardus, the same thought is expressed nearly in the same words. And with this again agrees the description given of St. Germanus of Paris by Fortunatus (writing in the sixth century):—

Sensim incedit velut alter Aaron,
Non de veste nitens, sed pietate placens.
Non lapides, coccus, clarum aurum, purpura, byssus,
Exornant humeros, sed micat alma Fides.

The other passage, that from St. Boniface, "the apostle of Germany," prefents great difficulties, the folution of which, I own, I cannot as yet fee. For the expressions that he uses indicate, on the one hand, that the "vestimenta" which he fo strongly condemns were in some way connected with superfitious " use (so at least he deemed it); that they were of recent introduction (so the general tone of his letter seems to imply); and apparently also that they were brought into England through some foreign influence. On the other hand, he speaks of these as tending to luxury and unclean living, and to evil companionships, among the younger members of the monastic houses; to the neglect of reading and of prayer, and to the ruin of fouls. Whatever may have been the exact state of circumstances which called out this his ftrong denunciation, this much at least is clear, that in the English monastic houses, early in the eighth century, there

commendat vestium, sed splendor animarum.

Et idcirco huic famulo tuo quem ad summi sacerdotii ministerium elegisti, hanc, quassumus, Domine, gratiam largiaris, ut quicquid illa velamina in sultimodi operis varietate signabant, boc in ejus moribus actibusque clarescat.

D. Greg. Papæ

Sacram. Liber, p. 239. [The MS. is not earlier than the eighth century, and probably not much later. See Menardus' Preface.] Other passages to the same effect are quoted in Appendix B.

^{*} Vestimentorum superstitionem, Deo odibilem. Cf. infra, note 299, p. 106.

A He speaks of them as transmissa, "fent across," by Antichrist, and as precursors of his advent.

had been a great development of external splendour in dress, either secular * or ministerial, or both; and that this had been defended upon some grounds of religion, which were regarded as superstitious and anti-Christian by St. Boniface.



From a Drawing in Her Majesty's Collection. [See Description of Pl. XXXIII.]

μ Of the splendid secular dress affected by ecclesiastics in the eighth cenwriters. Compare note 336, p. 165.

CHAPTER VII.

Special Vestments and Insignia of Christian Ministry between 400 and 800 a.d.

We have already mentioned the two principal authorities for the Christian vestments of this period,—St. Isidore, and the Fourth Council of Toledo, for the West; St. Germanus of Constantinople, for the East. We may take the enumerations, there given, as a basis, in proceeding now to consider these vestments more in detail.

MINISTERING VESTMENTS IN THE WEST.

The vestments and infignia mentioned in the Acts of the Council of Toledo, A.D. 633, are the Alb, the Planeta, the Orarium; and, in addition to these, the Episcopal Ring, and Pastoral Staff, as the distinctive insignia of a bishop. These Acts, however, determine, with certainty, only the vestments recognised at that period in Spain. From other sources we learn the names of additional vestments, such as the Dalmatic, and the Pallium, connected more particularly with Rome; and of these also we will take the present opportunity of speaking.

v See infra pp. 68 and 75; and for S. Germanus, p. 82.

I. THE ALB.

The "tunica alba," or, as it is more briefly called, the alba, is the term used of the long white tunic worn, as we have seen, from Apostolic times, by those who ministered in the Church. Even as early as the Fourth Council of Carthage, we find a canon regulating its use as a garb to be worn, by deacons, only at specified times. And by this name, probably for more than four centuries, rather than by dalmatica, was the tunic of holy ministration known in all the Latin churches, Rome only excepted.

Later notices of the "alb" occur in the Council of Narbonne (A.D. 589), indicative of the growth of great irreverence in the celebration of the "mass," an irreverence which required to be checked by special enactment. And if we find in the Acts of the Council of Toledo, already alluded to, that the "alb" is there spoken of as the characteristic vestment of a deacon, it is not that bishops and presbyters did not wear a white tunic under the "planeta," but that the

[§] Alba is first used virtually as a substantive, in a passage from Vopiscus (in Claudio, 14 and 17), in which we read of an alba subserica, i.e. made of linen interwoven with silk, sent as a present by Trebellius Pollio to Claudius (circ. A.D. 265).

o Concil. Carthag. iv. Can. 41 (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1203). Ut diaconus tempore oblationis tantum vel lestionis alba utatur. It is very doubtful whether there was ever such a Fourth Council of Carthage actually held. The Canons, however, which are at-

tributed to this Council, are of about the date affigned, viz. towards the close of the fourth century.

The It is to this white vestment of Deacons that John the Deacon alludes (Vita S. Gregorii, lib. i. 25), saying, that on being ordained deacon, St. Gregory appeared non folum nitore babitus, verum etiam claritate morum probabilium, divinis angelis adæquari.

e See Labbe, tom. v. p. 1020. Nec diaconus, aut subdiaconus certe, vel Lector, antequam missa consummetur, alba se præsumat exuere.

deacon, having no fuper vestment," was specially designated by the white alb in which he ministered.

Before proceeding further it may be well to notice a special form of the ministering tunic, connected more especially with Roman use.

THE DALMATIC.

The Dalmatic * (fee Pl. VI. and XXVIII.) was a tunic with long and full fleeves, differing therein from the colobium, which had a very short and close sleeve, reaching a few inches only below the shoulder."

Like other garments appropriated at a comparative early time, to ecclefiaftical use at Rome, the Dalmatic had been in use by persons high in secular position, before it was adopted by the Church. In the West, the earliest secular traditions connected with it are peculiarly unfortunate. For the first persons recorded to have worn it are the Emperors Commodus († A.D. 190) and Heliogabalus († 223). Their biographer Lampridius z records, as an outrage upon all pro-

σ Compare Pl. XXVIII. where Archbishop Maximian wears a planeta over a dalmatic, whereas the two clerics in attendance on him are in dalmatics only. See also Pl. XVII.

τ The full expression was tunica dalmatica, but this very rarely occurs, the word dalmatica being used as a substantive, as was "alba." The name was derived from the province of Dalmatia. See note 131.

v See, for example, the woodcut in p. xxxiv.

φ Of a different kind are the first traditions in the East, if the word δελματίκιον, used by John Damascene, be not an anachronism. Speaking of

the pretences to special fanctity made by the Pharisees, he mentions, interalia, σχήματα ἐθελορησκευτικὰ τῆς ἐνδυσίκς, διά τε τῆς ἀμπεχόνης, καὶ τῶν δελματικίων, ἤτουν κολοβίων, καὶ τοῦ πλατυσμοῦ τῶν Φυλακτηςίων, τοὐτεστι σημάτων τῆς ποςΦύςας, καὶ κρασπέδων, καὶ βοίσκων ἐπὶ τα πτεςύγια τῆς ἀμπεχόνης. [Cotelerii Eccl. Græc. Monumenta Inedita, vol. i. p. 284]

χ Lampridius in Heliogabalo, cap. 26. Dalmaticatus in publico post cenam sæpe visus est; Gurgitem Fabium et Scipionem se appellans, quod cum ea veste esset cum qua Fabius et Cornelius a parentibus, ad corrigendos mores, adolescentes in publicum essent producti.

priety,4 the fact of their being feen in public wearing this particular kind of tunic. Of the latter he writes, that he would often appear in public, after dinner, clad in a Dalmatic; and calling himfelf a fecond Fabius or Scipio, "because he wore a garment such as that in which Fabius and Cornelius, before they attained to manhood, were made by their own parents to appear in public, as a punishment for fome offence committed." It may feem strange, at first thought, to hear of precifely the same garment being worn, "in public," only fome thirty years later, by a Christian bishop. St. Cyprian of Carthage († 258), when led out to death, was wearing (if the "Acts" of his martyrdom may herein be trusted), first a byrrhus, then, under that, a Dalmatic; and again, under the Dalmatic, a "linea," or shirt. That dress was, of course, not that which he would use in offices of holy ministry, but the feemly attire which he would wear on other occasions. And it is probable, for reasons already fully fet out in earlier chapters " of this Introduction,

fifted either in coming out into the streets, ficut erat, in the dalmatic, in which he had reclined at table, without toga or pallium; or possibly in his wearing a tunica manicata. This last would have been thought effeminate in the days of those older Fabii and Scipios. And hence the punishment involved in making two high-spirited boys appear in a tunic fit only for women. But I can hardly think, with Dr. Hefele, that a dalmatic worn by an emperor under a super-vestment (toga, pallium, or lacerna), would have been thought an outrage upon propriety in the third century of our era.

ω We hear elsewhere of a "byrrhus" as the secular dress of bishops, and others of the clergy. St. Augustine (Serm. de Diversis, ccclvi., tom.

v. p. 1579, sqq.), for example, says, that he could not wear a byrrbus pretiosus, even if it were given him. A byrrhus of costly material might perchance he fitting for a bishop, but not fitting for Augustine, "hominem pauperem de pauperibus natum." If good folk wished to give him what he should actually wear, it must be such as he could wear "without blufhing." If it were more than this, he should fell it, and put the money into the common flock. For other references, fee Raynaudus, De Pilis, &c., p. 1285. The word byrrhus, in older Latin burrus, is probably the Greek πυββός. So St. Isidore, Orig. lib. xix. cap. 24. Birrus a Graco vocabulum trabit: illi enim birrum bibrum [leg. πυρρόν] dicunt. α See Chapter II., p. vii., fqq.

that a bishop, in so important a place as Carthage, would habitually wear a long and stately tunic, like the Dalmatic, which even ordinary persons would at times assume, on occasions of unusual solemnity. And when worn, as by St. Cyprian, with a super-vestment over it, it would at once become appropriate to a solemn occasion, and to a person of dignished rank.

That the use of the Dalmatic, as a tunic of ceremony for state officials, and other such, continued at Rome itself side by side with its ecclesiastical use, we have proof afforded in the description so given by John the deacon, of the dress worn by Gordianus, a senator, father of St. Gregory the Great [see Pl. XXV]. That double usage, secular and ecclesiastical, has continued ever since. A Dalmatic is still worn as one of the imperial and royal coronation robes, both on the Continent and in England. Of its use as an ecclesiastical vestment, in ancient and in modern times, we proceed now to speak.

The earliest traditions r on the subject go back to the time of Constantine. Sylvester, then Bishop of Rome, is said to have ordered that the deacons should wear Dalmatics in place of the *colobia*, which had previously been in use in offices of holy ministry. The sullest account of the subject is that of Rabanus Maurus (*infra*, p. 106, fqq.), written about the middle of the ninth century. He says, that "In the earliest times mass was performed in the dress of ordinary life, as some Easterns are said to do even to this day. But

β Joan. Diac. Vita S. Gregor. lib. iv. cap. 84. Gordiano castanei coloris Planeta, sub Planeta Dalmatica, in pedibus caligæ.

y See Rabanus Maurus (infra, p. 88), De Inft. Cler. lib i., 7 and 20; Amalarius De Eccl. Off. lib. ii. cap. 21 (infra, p. 99), and note 203, p. 105); Alcuinus De Div. Off. (infra,

p. 116); Honorius of Autun (infra, p. 137.) With these agrees Anastasius, drawing as he did from the same sources as the early writers above quoted. De Vit. Pontis. p. 105. In S. Sylvestro. "Hic constituit ut diaconi Dalmatica utcrentur in ecclesia, et pallio linostimo læva eorum tegeretur."

Stephanus, twenty-fourth Pope, directed that priests and Levites should not employ their facred vestments in the ordinary usage of daily life, but referve 113 them exclusively for the Church. And Sylvester ordained, that deacons should wear Dalmatics in Church, and cover their left hands with a pallium 213 of mixed linen and wool. And at first (primo), before Chasubles came into use, those of the priestly order wore Dalmatics. But afterwards, when they had begun to wear Chasubles, they conceded the use of Dalmatics to deacons. And yet, that pontiffs themselves sought to wear Dalmatics, is clear from this, that Gregory and other Roman primates? allowed the use of them to some bishops, forbade it in the case of others. And from this we may gather that in those days that was not matter of general privilege, which now almost all bishops, and some presbyters, regard as their right, to wit, the wearing of a Dalmatic under the Chasuble."

This account, compared with the original passage quoted by Anastasius from the Gesta Pontiscum (note γ , p. lvii), leaves some questions still open to doubt. Both writers agree in stating that St. Sylvester's ordinance had special reference to deacons. And it is possible, therefore, that the Dalmatic, or full-sleeved tunic, may have been worn by bishops and priests in the Roman Church, at an earlier period. And so some writers have maintained. But it appears more probable that the fuller tunic was assigned to the deacons, because they

s See, for example, the letter quoted infra, p. 67.

[&]amp; Sed. 253-257.

ζ So Pope Zachary (fed. 741-752), writing to Austrobert, Bishop of Vienne: Dalmaticam usibus vestris misimus, ut, quia ecclesia vestra ab bac fede dottrinam Fidei percepit, et morem babitus sacerdotalis, ab illa etiam accipiat decorem bonoris. For Pope Symmachus, at a much earlier date, see below note θ.

Wisconti De Apparatu Missa, lib. iii. cap. 25. Du Saussay, Panoplia Episc. lib. vi. cap. 3 and 4. Apud Martigny, D. A. C. in voc. Dalmatique.

⁶ With this would agree again the concession of the Dalmatic to the deacons of the Church of Arles, by Pope Symmachus (fed. 498-514). [Vita Cæsarii Arelat. apud Baron. Annal. tom. vi. p. 601, ad ann. 508]. "Ipse Pontisex præclara ejus (fc. S.

wore no super-vestment, so that the scantiness of the older colobium was in their case specially conspicuous.

However this may be, it is clear that, as late as the eighth century, the Dalmatic, as a vestment of Christian ministry, was regarded as specially belonging to the Roman Church; and that it was only by special privilege from Rome (or by invasion of that privilege) that it was worn in any of the dioceses subject to the Roman See.

With this accords the fact, noticed by foreign ritualists, that, with special exceptions only, the Dalmatic was not worn in the Gallican Church till, in the time of Hadrian I., her own Liturgy was displaced (under pressure from the Crown) by that which was in use at Rome.

One word must be said, in conclusion, as to the ornaments of the Dalmatic at this period. From a passage of St. Isidore (quoted below at p. 74), it has been inferred by some, that that all Dalmatics had clavi or ornamental stripes, of purple.* But this is evidently a mistake. Of the very sew ecclesiastical Dalmatics, earlier than the year 600, whose date and whose colour I have been able to determine, none have any other than black stripes. And even if exceptions should be found, no more would be proved than that the clavi of such dalmatics might be purple. The short notices of words like dalmatica," which have been preserved to us by S. Isidore, are often copied straight down from Scholiasts on Plautus,

Cæsarii) meritorum dignitate permotus, non solum eum verissime Metropolitani honore præditum voluit, sed etiam speciali quodam privilegio pallii usum ei permisst, et diaconos ejus perinde ac Romanæ Ecclessæ diaconos Dalmaticis uti voluit."

colour of the *clavi* on the Dalmatics in the Ravenna mosaic (Pl. XXVIII). They are black, not purple, as he supposes. See p. 206 of his treatise.

λ A mosaic, of which there is a coloured drawing in the Windsor collection, represents the Apostles with red *clavi* upon their tunics. This mosaic dates from the year 640, and is the earliest which I have found so ornamented.

Martigny D. A. C. in voc. Dalmatique.

[»] Dr. Hefele, who is generally very exact, has been led into error as to the

Terence, and other old writers, and are not in all cases to be regarded as the results of careful research of his own. This being so, I think it not impossible, that his account (p. 74, note 131) of the Dalmatic (a vestment which does not appear to have been used in Spain) may be derived from some such older source; and that the word sacradalis may have referred (when originally penned by its actual author) to a tunic of heathen priesthood, such as we have seen to have been in not unfrequent use.

2. THE PÆNULA, CASULA, AND PLANETA.

Most writers on ritual assume that the three words, with which this section is headed, are but different names for one and the same garment. There are many questions of interest involved in the inquiry whether this assumption is well grounded, or no. And I propose therefore to state here the general results of a careful investigation of the history of these three words; and to set out in full, in an Appendix, the evidence upon which those results have been reached.

THE PÆNULA.

I give precedence to the Pænula, as being, in all probability, far the oldest word of the three. We have direct evidence that garments, called by this name, were in use in Italy from the third ξ century before Christ, to the fifth century of our era. In the East the φ auróλης (the same word

μ A contrary opinion to this is expressed in note 131, p. 74. But that note was written a year ago, when the writer knew less of St. Isidore's mode of working than he does now. See

Appendix A, Nos. 12, 13, 14.

y See Appendix C. ¿ Appendix C, No. 1.

writer knew less of St. Isidore's mode of working than he does now. See what is said under No. 23 and 25.

under another form) has had a still wider range. We hear of it sirst in a writer of the fourth century B.c., but then in a context which implies a belief, that such a garment was in use "ante Agamemnona." And the same word, in its Byzantine form (note 153) having been adopted in the East, at an early period, as the designation for the super-vestment worn in offices of Christian ministry, survives even to this day, both in the Greek Church itself, and, with slight modifications, in other Churches of the East.

Deferring, for the present, any further reference to its use in the East, we shall do well to note here those points only in the history of the Pænula, which will illustrate its relation to the Planeta or Casula, the "Chasuble" of Western usage.

And, first, for its form. Whether, in the later times of the Roman empire, the primitive form of this garment was always exactly adhered to, may reasonably be doubted. But this at least is certain, that the prevailing idea, connected with this word, was that of a garment which so completely enveloped the whole person, as to interfere entirely with active exertion of the arms. It was probably much such a cloak as the poncho, which was in fashion in England not many years ago; with this addition, however, that it was furnished with a hood (as such outdoor garments for common use generally were) for protection of the head, if need were, from cold or wet. This primitive shape of the garment is probably that which was long retained in the East (as it still is, I believe, in many parts of it), and which may be seen represented

π Rhinthon, quoted by Julius Pollux. See Appendix C, No. 16.

e The earliest direct evidence of such adoption, as far as I know, is the passage of Patriarch Germanus, referred to in Appendix C, No. 24.

σ In the Syriac Liturgies φαινόλιον appears as Faino, Filono, or Phaino. [Ifa-Bar-Hali, quoted by Renaudot,

Lit. Orient. Coll. ii. p. 55.] In the Arabic version of the Coptic Liturgies it is generally Albornos, "The Burnous," with which we are more or less familiar. But in Sclavonic the Greek word reappears as Pheloni.

τ See Appendix C, No. 3; and compare No. 16, and note 396.

in Pl. LVIII., No. 1 (St. Sampson). But in the West it is very possible that the older form may have been so far modified, that a garment such as that shown in Pl. V. bis (No. 5), may really be intended for a Pænula, as most antiquaries believe.

We have abundant evidence in Roman literature of the uses to which the Pænula served, and of its gradual exaltation in dignity from a garb of slaves or of peasants φ to one which even emperors \varkappa might wear in travelling, and which was expressly prescribed, in the fifth century of our era, as the dress of senators. ψ

A Pænula, of fome kind, was from very early times recognised as the proper dress for travellers. But to wear a Pænula as an ordinary dress, in the city, would, in republican times, have been regarded as a grave breach of etiquette on the part of any one who pretended to the character of a gentleman. But the use of the Pænula in rainy or very cold weather, as an outer cloak to be worn over the ordinary dress, had in the first century of our era become well established even in Rome." Yet even in the second century of our era the older plebeian affociations still clung about it, fo that an emperor β could not appear in fuch a dress in the city, be the weather what it would. In the third century? a special permission was given by the Emperor Alexander Severus, by which fenators were allowed to wear the Pænula in cold weather, even intra Urbem. But the same decree forbade its use by ladies, except when on a journey. It is not till yet two hundred years later (A.D. 438) that we find

v See Octavius Ferrarius, p. 831; Bartolus Bartolinus, *De Pænula*, cap. iv.; Weiss, Kostümkunde im Mittelalter, p. 14, fig. 8.

φ Of flaves, Appendix C, No. 1; of peasants, Appendix C, No. 4 (compare No. 9).

 $[\]chi$ See Ferrarius D. R. V. pars ii. lib. ii. cap. 5.

⁴ Appendix C, No. 22.

ω Appendix C, Nos. 3, 5, 15.

a Appendix C, Nos. 7, 12, 13.

β Appendix C. No. 13.

γ Appendix C, No. 15.

[&]amp; Appendix C, No. 22.

the Pænula formally installed, in the place of the older toga, as the distinctive garment of peaceful dignity, and as such to be worn by senators, to the exclusion of the warlike "terrors" associated with the chlamys. 142

An important question now arises, Was this Pænula the fuper-vestment adopted by the Western Church as the distinctive garb of bishops and priests in the highest offices of Christian ministry? By the Western Church in Apostolic times, or in the centuries immediately fucceeding, most undoubtedly it was not. The proof of this may be seen in the Appendix. And to what is there stated I may add here, that I have neither seen alleged by others, nor have I myself found, one passage of any Latin writer from the first century to the fourteenth, in which mention is made of the Pænula as the proper name of a vestment of Christian ministry. But, on the other hand, the usage of the phanolion by the Greek Church, and early monuments of ecclefiastical dress in the West, such as those in Pl. XXVIII., XXX., and XXXI., lead to the conclusion, that the super-vestment worn in the fixth century, though called Planeta, was not unlike in form to the Pænula of which we have been speaking. And it is of course possible that, in some local churches, the name Pænula may really have been employed rather than Planeta, as a defignation for this vestment. All that can be faid is that no evidence has ever yet been alleged to prove that fuch was the case.

THE CASULA.

There is no certain evidence of the word cafula ever being employed in speaking of a vestment of Christian ministry before the ninth century of our era. If, therefore, the arrangement adopted in this treatise were strictly adhered to, this word would first come under discussion at a later period

[&]amp; See Appendix C, under No. 17.

than the present. But it will be convenient to give the earlier history of the word in this place, in order to make it clear how the Casula stands related to the Planeta and the Pænula.

And, first, for the origin of the word. There is no doubt that the derivation given by St. Isidore is the true one. ξ He regards it (see p. 74, note 130) as a diminutive of "casa," "a little house," or "hut." And we find, in point of sact, that the word had in his time the meaning of a "hut," or "booth," 130 side by side with that of a garment, which is its more common meaning.

As regards its primitive shape we have no certain evidence to guide us, in respect of the first eight centuries, because, as far as we can now judge, the super-vestments in the monuments of ecclesiastical dress, dating from the sixth and seventh centuries, would have been originally called *Planetæ*, and not Chasubles. But there is a strong probability that in form the Casula of earlier times differed but little, if at all, from the Planeta and the Pænula. What difference there was consisted chiefly in material, and possibly in ornament; the Casula being in those older days a garb chiefly worn by the poor, and, because worn by the poor, therefore also by monks. [Appendix C, No. 26, 28, 32, 33.]

ζ A passage of Philo Judæus, De Victimis (quoted by Alb. Rubenius D. R. V. lib. i. cap. 6) contains a curious anticipation of this application of the term cafula, to a cloak. αἰγῶν δὲ αἰ τρίχες αἰ (leg. καὶ) δοραὶ συνυφαινόμεναι τε καὶ συβραπτόμεναι, Φορηταὶ γεγόνασιν ὁδοιπόροις οἰκίαι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐν στρατείαις, οῦς ἔξω πόλεως ἐν ὑπαίθρω διατρίβειν ἀναγκάζουσιν αἰ χρεῖαι τὰ πολλά. He is evidently describing the φαινόλης, which in his time was in use in the East as well as in Greece and Italy. And by speaking

of it as "a portable bouse" for travellers, he makes it very probable that he was acquainted with the term casula, as employed in the lingua volgaris for the same garment, by the Latin-speaking peoples.

n Among other points of refemblance the older Cafula was, like the Pænula, a veftis cucullata, provided with a cowl or hood for the protection of the head. See the quotation from St. Isidore, p. 74. Cafula eft veftis cucullata, &c. And fee, further, Appendix C, No. 38.

In the Appendix will be found all the earliest notices that have been preserved to us, having reference to the Casula. And their general refult, it will be feen, is this. The word was originally used of a garment worn, in outdoor use, by men of the lower class, as a protection against cold and wet. The fame word was occasionally employed (in the African provinces at least) in speaking of the cloak worn for similar purposes by persons in somewhat higher station. Thus St. Augustine employs the word, in one place, in speaking of the outdoor garment worn by a journeyman tailor at Hippo (before his own time). At another time, speaking to an ordinary congregation (Sermo CVII.), he expresses his wonder that when men are careful that every thing about them should be good of its kind, they care not that their own fouls should be so also. "Thou choosest not a bad house, but a good one,nor a bad wife, but a good one, - nor a bad Casula, or a bad shoe, and why then art thou content that thine own foul be bad?" (See Appendix C, Nos. 26 and 27).

The Cafula was also, from the fixth to the eighth century, recognised as the characteristic dress of monks; and was worn, in outdoor dress, by many bishops, and by the clergy generally. St. Boniface (Appendix C, No. 36) in Council prescribed it as the proper out-door dress of the clergy (note 416), forbidding the use of the Sagum, or short cloak worn by the laity. (Appendix C, Nos. 27, 28, 29, 31.)

Lastly, at the beginning of the ninth century, we find the word Cafula used for the first time, as a designation for the vestment previously known as Planeta; and from that time, down to the present, the word Casula has in common usage almost superfeded the older term.

THE PLANETA.

This last-named vestment is that with which we are more properly concerned in reference to the transition period, between the fourth and the ninth centuries.

We hear of the Planeta first in the fifth century, and again in the seventh (see Appendix C, Nos. 38 and 42), as a dress too costly to be worn by monks. And with this agree later notices, from which (Appendix C, Nos. 39 and 41) we find that it was worn by laymen of rank, both in Rome itself and in the African Provinces, in the course of the fixth century of our era.*

The first mention or it as worn in offices of Christian ministry is found in the Acts of the Council of Toledo, early in the seventh century (see p. 75). But we find it there spoken of not as any new thing, but as the recognised habit of bishops and presbyters, distinguishing them from the deacons, who wore an alb only.

St. Isidore, who presided at that Council, and whose pen may be clearly traced (note 133) in the record of its acts, has given elsewhere a derivation of the word Planeta. In an enumeration of a great variety of garments worn in ordinary life, he comes to the mention of "Cafula" already noticed. And he proceeds in the same sentence (see p. 74) as follows. "The Casula is a garment provided with a cowl, the name being a diminutive from 'casa,' a house, because, like a little house, it covers the whole man. . . . In like manner, people say that in Greek Planetæ are so called, because the border of the Planeta 'wanders' in vague lines about the body. For which cause some stars are called 'Planetæ,' as implying that their movements are erratic and divergent." Rabanus Maurus, in the ninth century, while adopting verbatim (see p. 91) St. Isidore's derivation of the

^{*} See, further, Appendix C, Nos. 40, 42, 44, 45.

word Cafula, fays, expressly, "hanc (sc. Casulam) Graci Planetam vocant," identifying, distinctly, the Casula and the Planeta. In so identifying them he was so far right, that in his own time the distinction between the two was no longer recognised. But in the fixth and seventh centuries it is evident that they were distinguished, the Casula as the humbler and simpler dress, proper to poor men and to monks (Appendix C, No. 26); the Planeta as the handsomer and more costly habit, worn in ordinary life at Rome, alike by senators and by popes (Appendix C, No. 41); and in Spain certainly, if not elsewhere, the distinctive vestment of bishops and presbyters.

The form of the Planeta (as an episcopal vestment), at that time, may be seen in Pl. XXVIII., compared with Pl. XXX. and XXXI., and to these we may add Pl. XXV., in which St. Gregory and his father Gordianus, a Roman senator, are both represented as wearing a Planeta.

SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE RELATING TO PÆNULA, CASULA, AND PLANETA, IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD.

On a review of the whole evidence as to these three garments, we arrive at the following conclusions.

First, that in general form the three differed little, if at all, the one from the other. But there is no evidence to show that a vestment of Christian ministry was ever called Pænula in the Latin Churches; nor Casula before the ninth century. That till about the close of the eighth century, "Planeta" was the name given to the super-vestment of Christian ministry, which in form and in use corresponded to what at a later time was known as the Chasuble (Casula).

That all these garments were worn, in ordinary life, by laymen as well as by ecclesiastics; the Planeta, however, as worn by laymen, being regarded, in all probability, as a mark of official dignity.

3. THE ORARIUM (THE LATER "STOLE.")

I. In the Acts of the Council of Toledo, which we have taken as our starting-point for the present period, we find the Orarium recognised as a distinctly ministerial vestment, worn by bishops, presbyters, and deacons; the Orarium of the deacon, however, being worn upon one (the left) shoulder only.

Whence this word Orarium, and what the origin of the vestment so called? To these questions such reply as can be given will appear upon consideration of the following facts.

For the origin and derivation of the word itself, we must look not to the technical connotations of the word, whether secular or ecclesiastical, but to what is older than these technicalities, the common usage of the word as a term of ordinary speech. So guided, we shall probably be right in thinking, that the word is connected with os, the mouth (of which or is the real root-form), or, in its plural form, ora, the face; and regard the term as originally equivalent to our own "handkerchies." (See Appendix E, No. 1).

But of the passages, now extant, in which the word occurs, those of earliest date (Appendix E, No. 1 b) employ it in a somewhat technical sense. We first hear of it in the pages of Trebellius Pollio, a writer of the sourth century, and a contemporary of Constantine. According to him the Emperor Gallienus (Imp. 260–268) sent to Claudius (his successor in the empire) as an imperial present, sour oraria sarabdena. Not very many years later we hear of Aurelian (Imp. 270–275) being "the first who distributed oraria as presents to the people, to be used by them 'ad favorem,' i.e., probably as colours to be worn and waved at the circus, on occasion of public games, much in the same way as ribands of various colours are worn now, 'ad favorem,' among ourselves, whether

as emblems of political party, or (in contexts of another kind) of rival universities, or of rival schools.

Once more. At a period not very long subsequent to that last named, we find, upon the Arch of Constantine (see Pl. IV.), a representation of the Emperor and his attendant courtiers; and of these latter many are distinguished by a broad riband, or scarf, worn over their other dress, presenting nearly the appearance of the "riband" of the Order of Knighthood, still worn as an honorary distinction in our own times. And the scarf, or broad riband, so worn, corresponds, in general appearance, to the Orarium of the earliest ecclesiastical monuments in which this vestment is represented (see Pl. XXVIII., XXX., XXXI.), though in point of arrangement some difference is observable.

In another Roman monument (not ecclefiaftical), of which an engraving is given by Boissardus, a similar "scarf" is seen worn over the rest of the dress by two of the principal personages represented. But here the arrangement differs considerably from that seen in the plates, reproduced in this Work, to which reference has just been made; and approaches very closely to the form of the later archiepiscopal pallium, as it may be seen in Pl. XXV., XLII., &c.

To these facts should be added that to which I here allude by anticipation, viz. the use of pallia linostima, or cloths partly of linen and partly of wool, employed at Rome from the time of S. Sylvester, as distinctive insignia of deacons; and the carrying of an excession, a napkin, or towel, to similar purpose, by deacons in the East.

And with all these facts before us we shall probably not

A See note 214, p. 108. The fame words are employed (being taken from the fame fource) by Anastasius, De V. R. P. p. 105. But this writer records a precisely similar order made by Zosimus (fed. 417 A.D.): Hic

multas constituit ecclesias, et secit confitutum ut diaconi lævas tectas baberent [bora sacrificii, so one MS.] de pallis (sic) linostimis, et per parochias concessa licentia cereos benedici.

do wrong in concluding, that the use of "oraria," of "pallia linostima" (mappulæ or manipuli), of the pallium pontificium, in the West—of ἀράριον, ἐγχείριον, ἀμοφόριον, in the East—are all instances of the adaptation, with certain modifications, to Christian use, as distinctive insignia in the church, of what had been previously used in secular life as marks of special privilege, or of official dignity.

The fact that the date of these adaptations, both in East and West, is not earlier than that of the "peace of the church," so called, in the time of Constantine, adds considerably to the probability of this conjecture, because of the more fully developed organisation which then first became possible.

We need only add that the vestment now known in the Western Church as a "Stole," was called "Orarium" (not Stole) till the close of the Transition Period. It is in accordance with this fact that the Greek word στολή is never used in the Latin sense of a "Stole," but retains, in ecclesiastical and Byzantine Greek, its older classical meaning. [Note 141, p 83.]

4. THE MAPPULA AND PAPAL PALLIUM.

The three vestments already described, the Alb (or the Dalmatic, as the case might be), the Planeta, and the Orarium, these alone can be described as vestments of Christian ministry, properly so called, recognised in the West during the Transition Period. But a few words must here be said of two vestments, connected more especially with the Roman Church, viz. the *Mappula* and the Papal Pallium.

From two letters on the subject of the Mappula, which are quoted in the Second Part of this work (pp. 65 and 66), we learn that, even before St. Gregory's time, a custom had obtained, that the clergy of the Metropolitan City should carry Mappulæ. The Roman clergy considered this a distinctive privilege, to which no other church could lay claim;

and refented extremely the pretention to a fimilar right put forward by the clergy of Ravenna. St. Gregory, by way of appeafing the strife, gave his consent at last that the principal deacons of the Church of Ravenna should wear them, but only when in attendance, on ceremonial occasions, upon the archbishop. Compare Appendix C, No. 40, and note 418.

The matter is only fo far of importance, that it illustrates a tendency of which we find many instances at a later time. At Rome, the centre of the wealth, the luxury, the power, of the older empire, special developments of outward dress and infignia were brought about from time to time; and for the very reason that these were connected, at first, with the feat of government, and of the "Apostolic see," the clergy of other churches became defirous of the like distinctions, and fo the example fet at Rome was fooner or later followed in the West generally. This we shall find to have been the case with the Mappula of which now we are speaking. The Maniple, which, to the eyes of Latin writers of the ninth century, was one of the "facred vestments" of Christian ministry, was but a development of this earlier Mappula.

A far greater historical importance attaches to the "Pallium," in that new, and exclusively ecclesiastical sense, in which we find it employed from the fifth century downward. Of the ordinary meaning of the word we have already had eccasion to speak. (Note #, p. xii).

But the "Pallium" now in question is that known as the Papal or archiepiscopal Pallium, the earliest form of which may be feen in Pl. XXVIII, the latest " in Pl. LXI. (No.

Me The fuccessive variations in the form of the Papal Pallium may be traced in the following among the illustrations of this volume. For the beginning of the ninth century, fee above, p. lii, compared with Pl.

century, Pl. XLII. (probably, alfo, XXXIX.) and XLIII.; for the eleventh, Pl. XLIV.; for the twelfth, the figures of popes in Pl. XLV, and XLVI. From the reprefentation of the modern Pallium, given in Pl. XXXIII. and XL.; for the tenth LXI., and of the "Orfrey" of the

16). The monuments lately discovered by De Rossi in the Roman Catacombs (fee Pl. XXX., XXXI.), and which date, probably, from the eighth century, will show what, during this transition period, was reputed to have been the primitive form of this vestment. As there shown, it is simply a white orarium worn outside the planeta, and crossed over the left hand, so as to keep it from actual contact with the Book of the Gospels, then the traditional infignia of a bishop. It is very possible that in the frescoes in question it is an Orarium (and not a Pallium) which the painter defigned to represent. If he were accurately acquainted with the episcopal dress of the third century which he had to represent, he would no doubt have faid (and faid with truth) that it would have been an anachronism for him to represent, in a dress of that time, a vestment such as the Papal Pallium, which was then unknown to the Church.

We have only to confider for a moment the contrast between the position of the Church in the first three centuries, and that to which she attained after the age of Constantine, in order to see why the Papal Pallium, as a distinctive vestment, should not have been known in that earlier period. While the empire was in antagonism to the Church, as it was till the time of Constantine, it was not in the nature of things that a completely organised hierarchical fystem should be developed, by the formal aggregation of dioceses into metropolitan provinces, the subordination of metropolitans to patriarchs, of patriarchs to an œcumenical patriarch, or to the "Apostolic see." We find, accordingly, that the vestments worn in that earlier period were vestments for bishops, presbyters, deacons, the three orders of the Christian ministry which had existed from the very first. But

priest's Chasuble shown in the same | neral appearance the Pallium of the

plate, it will be seen that the latter far | eleventh century, than does the Pallium more nearly refembles in fize and ge- itself as now worn by an archbishop.

from the period of the "peace of the church" under Constantine, the Christian hierarchy was developed in two directions-downwards in respect of the minor orders, subdeacons, acolytes, readers, and the like, upwards, in a graduated ascent, which, by slow degrees, and with much, at times, of even bitter contest, culminated at length in the recognition of the Bishop of Constantinople in "New Rome," as ecumenical Patriarch in the East, and of the Bishop of Rome as having first place in precedence among all the patriarchal fees throughout the world. And it is in accordance with these facts that we find so many of the early councils, in the latter part of the fourth century, occupying themselves with the regulation of distinctive vestments, or infignia, such as marked off, on the one hand, the position of the deacon, as one to be distinguished even in outward semblance (by the wearing of an orarium) from that of the minor orders; and, on the other hand, ferved to distinguish Metropolitans and Patriarchs from the suffragan bishops of their respective provinces.

MINISTERING VESTMENTS IN THE EAST.

What has been already faid of the various vestments recognised in the West during the Period of Transition (400 to 800 A.D.), will apply, with slight modifications only, to those of the East.

The vestments recognised at this time were the Sticharion, corresponding to the Alb, or rather to the Dalmatic

y For the word fee note 346, p. 169. I may add, however, that as one meaning of στοῖχος is a "line," it is not improbable that this vestment may have been so called from the

λώςια (note 146), or coloured stripes, by which it was decorated. We hear of the Sticharion as a vestment of holy ministry as early as the time of S. Athanasius.

of the West; the Phænolion, answering to the Planeta (the later "Chasuble"); and the Orarium, a term common to both East and West in respect of the deacon's Scarf (or "Stole"), Pl. LIX., but which was known as Peritrachelion, or Epitrachelion, when worn pendent round the neck by bishops or priests. See Pl. LVI., No. 1, and the description.

And as we hear of Mappula and Pallium (see above, p. lxx) in the West, so also of eyxsiguor (Napkin or Towel), and Omophorion in the East. This last vestment, from the sist century, if not from an earlier time, down to the present, has been worn by Patriarchs and Metropolitans, and by almost all bishops in the East. And if the reader will compare the consular dress, represented in Pl. XXIII., with that attributed to Patriarchs in Pl. XLI., LVIII., and to St. James in Pl. LXIII., he will see how close is the resemblance between the distinctive ornament of the two costumes. On the dress, too, of Emperors of the East, a similar ornament is conspicuous. And there can be little doubt that the imperial (or consular) Omophorion was the type upon which the patriarchal Omophorion was formed.

The passages from early writers, of chief importance, bearing upon the ecclesiastical dress of the East at this period, will be found in the later pages * of this volume.

The art-monuments dating from before 800 A.D. are but few. Those from the Church of St. George at Thessalonica,

ξ Called φελώνιον by St. Germanus. See p. 84, note 143. For various forms of the Eastern φελωνιον, at various times, see Plates XVIII., XIX., XXX, XXVII., XLI., and the figure of St. Sampson in Pl. LVIII. Several Phænolia, attributed by tradition to bishops or patriarchs of the twelsth and following centuries, are accurately depicted

in the first volume of the Antiquités de l'Empire Russe.

o See note 144.

π See St. Isidore of Pelusium, p. 94; St. Chrysostom, or the author who bears his name (see note 94), p. 51; St. Germanus, p. 82; and with these compare St. Symeon of Thessalonica, p. 168.

fome of which are figured in this volume (Pl. XVIII., XIX., XXI.), do not represent a dress of holy ministry, but of dignity, common, with very slight modifications only, to priests and people alike. These mosaics date, probably, from the fourth century. Two centuries later in date are the mosaics of the great Church (St. Sophia) at Constantinople. And among those which, from their position, have escaped destruction at the hands of the Turks, are some sof bishops of the fourth century, dressed in white vestments (Sticharion and Phænolion), and with an Omophorion, resembling in form that attributed to St. James, in the fresco reproduced in Pl. LXIII.

Upon a review of the whole evidence, literary r and monumental, bearing upon the question, we should conclude that the facred vestments, recognised in the Greek Church in the eighth century, were the Sticharion, Girdle, Orarium, v

e See Salzenberg's Alt-Christliche Baudenkmale. Pl. XXVIII. and XXIX. The bishops represented are Anthenios, Bishop of Nicomedia, † 311; Basileios (St. Basil the Great), † 379; Dionysius the Areopagite, † 96; Nicolaus, Bishop of Myra (one of the 318 at Micæa), † 330; and Gregorius of Armenia, † 325.

The Church of St. Sophia was built 532-538 A.D., and the mosaics are of the same date.

σ The dress closely resembles that attributed to St. James in Pl. LXIII., with this difference only, that in every case the Sticharion, or long tunic, has double stripes on either side, and running round the sleeve, this latter sitting closely round the wrist, instead of being sull and loose as is the sleeve of the Roman dalmatic. In sive out of the fix sigures, the lora, or

stripes, are two lines of purple and red; in one (that of Gregory of Armenia) of red only. The crosses on the Omophorion correspond in colour, in every case, to those of the *lora*.

τ The passage of St. Germanus, quoted at p. 82, fqq. presents some difficulty owing to his mixing up the mention of garments worn in holy ministry with those of ordinary usage, such as the Mandyas, 153 and the Cowl. 151

v The 366nn mentioned by St. Germanus (p. 86, note 154) as a part of the deacon's dress, is probably only another name for the Orarion, having reference to the material (linen) of which it was formed. The word is evidently so used in the passage, attributed to St. Chrysostom, quoted at p. 49, note 78.

and (ἐγχείριον ^φ) Napkin, for deacons; the Sticharion, Girdle, Phænolion, and Peritrachelion, for priefts; while the bishop, over and above these, wore an Omophorion as his distinguishing badge.

φ The ἐγχείριον, mentioned by St. Germanus, as carried by the deacon, fufpended from his Girdle, may have been of local use only, as was, at one time, the Mappula at Rome. But

the use of the eyxelgior died out (or at least the mention of it as thus carried by the deacon); but that of the Mappula spread by degrees throughout the Western Churches.



From the Roma Subterranea of Aringhi.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE THIRD PERIOD, FROM THE YEAR 800 A.D. TO THE PRESENT TIME.

We attain now to well-trodden ground, and have for the first time ample materials for our guidance, in contemporary monuments, both of literature and of art, such as those published in the later pages of this volume.

These have been so arranged in chronological order as to tell, in great measure, their own tale. A few words only are needed by way of preliminary remark.

One who takes a review of the literature of the eighth and the ninth centuries can scarcely fail to remark, how rapid, in the later period of the two, was the succession of writers upon subjects mainly relating to ritual. It is not difficult, on reflection, to account for this being so. The restoration of peace to Europe, consequent upon the victories of Charlemagne, gave men leisure for a devotion to study, which had been all but impossible amid the wars and rumours of wars, by which for nearly four hundred years the minds of men had been distracted. The example, too, and the liberal patronage of that monarch, savoured the interests of letters; and new schools of learning were founded both in France and Germany, under the auspices of our countryman Alcuin, or of such worthy inheritors of his learning as Rabanus Maurus 155 and Walafrid Strabo 204.

The circumstances of the time account for the direction then given to literary activity. It was not unnatural that in the Carlovingian age the minds of earnest men, shocked by the contemplation of the awful corruption, both in Church and State, which everywhere met their gaze, should turn back with fond and reverential affection to the earlier and purer ages of the Church; and in the writings of those whom they, like ourselves, spoke of as "the Fathers," seek for guidance in building up anew the ruined fabric of the Church.

To causes such as these may probably be traced the sudden outburst, early in the ninth century, of a new spirit of inquiry into all that concerned the discipline and the ritual of the Church. And the question of vestments was one which naturally, at that time, assumed a special prominence. Churchmen, who had travelled widely, as then some did, in East as well as West, could hardly fail to notice the remarkable sact, that at Constantinople as at Rome, at Canterbury as at Arles, Vienna or Lyons, one general type of ministering dress was maintained, varying only in some minor details; and that this dress everywhere presented a most marked contrast to what was in their time the prevailing dress of the laity. And as all knowledge of classical antiquity had for three centuries or more been well-nigh extinct in the Church, it was not less

fent learned Greeks for a refuge into Italy, and fo contributed powerfully to the restoration of learning, and the reformation of Western Christendom. When a Roman Cardinal spoke in Greek (or in what passed for Greek) at the Council of Florence, A.D. 1430, it was held to be (so Raynaldus gravely tells us) clear proof of miraculous agency. I state these facts not for the purpose of casting a reproach upon the Church of past ages; but because this fact of prevailing ignorance of the ancient languages ferves to explain many of the phenomena (among them fome that are very painful) of the history of the Church in mediæval times.

 $[\]chi$ See this illustrated in pictures dating from the ninth or tenth century, fuch as those in Pl. XXXVII. and XLIII.

^{\$\}psi\$ At the close of the fixth century St. Gregory writes to a bishop in Gaul, saying that he cannot send him the Pallium till he gives up studying Grammar and teaching it to others (Ep. xi. 54). He himself, as he tells us, knew nothing of Greek; and at Constantinople in his time there was no one who knew enough of Latin to translate one of his letters intelligibly (Ep. vii. xxx). With a few rare exceptions this ignorance of Greek continued in the West, till the fall of Constantinople, in the sisteenth century,

natural that they should have sought a solution of the phenomenon thus presented to them, in a theory of Levitical origin, which, from that time forward, was generally accepted. It was not till the revival of classical learning, many centuries later, that men were led to form a truer estimate of this and of other kindred questions. The successive documents, dating from the ninth and the two following centuries, contained in the later part of this volume, show very plainly the progressive development of this theory. Thus Rabanus Maurus, perhaps the earliest of these writers, when speaking of the older Levitical vestments, and of their spiritual meaning, does but follow, as he fays, in the steps of the older writers. But in what he fays of the habitus sacerdotalis of his own day, he makes a kind of apology for speaking secundum modulum ingenioli sui (fee note 169), as one who felt that he had entered upon new and somewhat doubtful ground. And we have only to compare the dress of a bishop of the ninth century (as in Pl. XXXVII.) with that of the Jewish high-priest (Pl. IX.), in order to see what difficulties had to be got over in identifying the one with the other. Some accordingly (as Walafrid Strabo) contented themselves with saying (p. 108) that in number the Christian vestments corresponded to those of the law; and with such vague refemblances as that of the "plate of gold" being worn only by the High-priest, as the pallium was worn only by chief pastors. But others, while recognising points of ftrong contrast " between the two types of dress, too obvious to be overlooked, fought, by the most far-fetched comparisons " to find features of likeness between them. And where this was not possible, additions were made from time to time to the

ω Such as the absence of tiara or lamina aurea (p. 112 and Appendix E, No. 12).

α As of the Amice to the Ephod (see p. 111,224); of the Jewish Rational [a jewel of twelve precious stones

worn on the breast] to the Pallium of an Archbishop (Note 217).

^{\$\}beta\$ As of an actual jewel to represent the Rational (Note \$^{236}\$, p. 124, and more certainly at p. 138, Note \$^{283}\$), and of a mitre with its circulus aureus,

"Sacrae Vestes" of the Church, in order to create a similarity where none had existed hitherto.

We find, accordingly, both in the literature and in the monuments of art, dating from the period now under confideration, distinct evidence of the rapid development of the ministering dress of the Western Church, from the beginning of the ninth to the end of the twelfth century.

Rabanus Maurus (p. 88), and Amalarius (p. 94), early in the ninth century, and the reputed Alcuin, probably in the tenth (p. 110, note 218), all speak of eight v vestments as worn by bishops, beside the Pallium proper to archbishops. St. Ivo (p. 128), writing at the close of the eleventh century, adds but one to the older enumeration, he being the first to fpeak of the "caliga by sina," "leggings," or stockings, made of linen, as among the facred vestments. But within a period of about fifty years, at the most, from the time of St. Ivo's writing, we find in Honorius of Autun (note 296 a, p. 142), the number of the facred vestments exactly doubled. He reckons feven vestments as proper to priests; seven more (fourteen in all) as belonging to bishops; while two others, the Pallium and the Crozier, are appropriated to archbishops. Innocent III., by the further mention (p. 153) of a vestment (the "orale" 314), and an ornament (the pectoral cross 315), which he regarded as belonging exclusively to the Roman Pontiff, added yet more to the whole enumeration. And by him, accordingly, fix vestments are assigned to presbyters, fifteen in all to bishops, one, the Pallium, specially to archbishops; making, with the two which he regarded as proper to the Bishop of Rome, no less than eighteen in all.

With this rapid development of the vestments in the

priest, Appendix G.

y Walafrid Strabo (p. 106) men-

to represent the Tiara of the High- | tions but seven, omitting, as he does, all mention of the Amice.

Roman Church, may be contrasted the fixity which, in this as in other matters, is characteristic of "the unchanging East." Patriarch Simeon, writing in the fifteenth century, knows of but five vestments proper to a priest, and of two more, making feven in all, as belonging to a bishop.357 And though he mentions the Pectoral Cross, 342 and the Staff, 345 as infignia of a bishop, he classes them with the Mandyas, or Mantle, as part of the non-liturgical costume, as in point of fact they are still regarded.

But to return to our more immediate subject,—the history of the vestments in the West, -it will be found that the multiplication of the "facred vestments," above spoken of, was effected, partly by actual additions to the less elaborate dress of earlier centuries, partly by the promotion, so to speak, to facred rank, of articles of dress, or of ornament, which had long been in use, but without being confecrated to fymbolical fignificance, or to any specially sacerdotal usage.

As the most convenient way of bringing before my readers the general refults of the documents printed in full in the later pages of this volume, I have drawn out in an Appendix (see Appendix F), an enumeration of the sacerdotal vestments, at the time of their fullest development in the Roman Church; with fuch brief notices to each as will indicate their origin, and the fuccessive modifications which they underwent.

For the present it will be sufficient to point out some of the more general conclusions which result from the whole inquiry.

[&]amp; Yet there are not wanting indications that in the East also, in particular instances at least, and in the later

imitating Levitical vestments was entertained. See, for example, the curious monument reproduced in Pl. mediæval times, the idea of directly | LVII., and the Description at p. 245.

And, first, it will be seen, that of all the various types of ministering dress, now retained in different branches of the Church, there is one, and one only, which approaches closely both in form and distinctive ornament to that of primitive Christendom, that dress being the Surplice (Appendix G, 5), with Scarf or Stole (see note on Pl. LXIII), now worn in the English Church. The reader has only to refer to Pl. XV. and XVII., in which monuments of that ancient dress have been preserved, in order to see that this is the case.

It appears further, that the original elements out of which the present ministering dress was developed, are common to the Greek, the Roman, and the Anglican Churches. But in the ministering dress of the Roman Church that primitive dress has been overlaid by successive additions, till the older type can scarcely be recognised under the changed forms in which it now appears. See Pl. LXI. We, ourselves, at the Resormation, had no sooner thrown aside those mediæval additions, merely Roman in their character, than we placed ourselves at one again with the Primitive Church, in this, as in other matters of far higher importance, in which a similar course was pursued.

Of the additions which at various times have been made to the really primitive dress, some few, as the Orarium and Planeta, date from the fourth century. And these are common to both East and West. But by far the greater number date from the ninth, to the middle of the twelfth, century;

s See particularly the central figure of the right-hand group (*spectator's* right) in Pl. XV. The dress of an English clergyman of the present day is there exactly delineated.

 $[\]zeta$ The only difference is that the

black stripes represented on those primitive vestments were attached to the tunic instead of being separate, as was the later Orarium, and the modern "Stole."

a period of darkness, both intellectual " and moral, (especially so at Rome itself), such as the Christian world has never known either before or since.

It is not within the scope of the present work to enter upon matter of theological controversy. And I therefore only state here, as matter of history, that this development of the sacerdotal dress was exactly coincident in time with the development of innovations in eucharistic doctrine, which were distinctly mentioned for the first time early in the ninth century, and which culminated in the decree of the Eleventh Lateran Council, 247 concerning translubstantiation, anno 1215. It was but natural that this should be. The formation of

n Baronius (Cardinal) ad ann. 900. "Incipit annus Redemptoris nongentefimus . . . quo et novum inchoatur Sæculum, quod fui afperitate
ac boni sterilitate, ferreum, malique
exundantis deformitate plumbeum, atque inopia scriptorum appellari consuevit obscurum." [Ann. Ecc. tom. x.
p. 629].

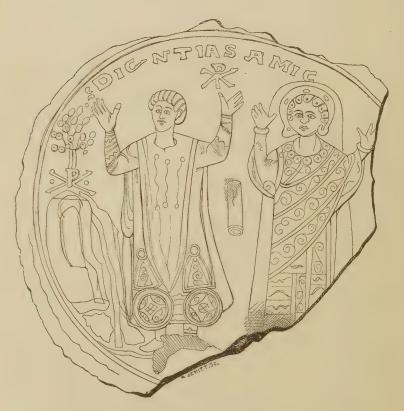
0 Id. ad ann. 912, No. 14, p. 663. "Quæ tunc facies fanctæ Ecclefiæ Romanæ, quam fædissima, cum Romæ dominarentur potentissimæ æque ac fordidissimæ meretrices, quarum arbitrio mutarentur Sedes, darentur Epifcopi, et quod auditu horrendum et infandum est intruderentur in Sedem Petri earum Amasii Pseudopontifices, qui non fint nisi ad consignanda tantum tempora in catalogo Romanorum Pontificum scripti. Quis enim a fcortis hujusmodi intrusos sine lege, legitimos dicere posset Romanos fuisse Pontifices?" For a contemporary picture of what Rome then was-a picture which more than justifies such language as the above—fee the fixth book of the Historia Luitprandi Episcopi.

Genebrardus, Archbishop of Aix (Chronographia, lib. iv. p. 553), speaks of this period of awful corruption in the Papal See itself as lasting for 150 years, and through a succession of sifty pontiss.

In the treatife of Paschasius Rubertus, of whom Cardinal Bellarmine (Opp. tom. vii. p. 121) writes, "Hic auctor primus fuit qui serio ac copiose disseruit de veritate Corporis ac Sanguinis Domini in Eucharistia." By this, of course, he means that he is the earliest writer who distinctly maintains the Roman do Etrine on this subject. So understood, his affertion is perfectly exact. The doctrine of Paschasius was thought fo strange, that Charles the Bald called upon Ratramnus (al. Bertramnus) of Corbey to answer it, which he did in a treatife which is of special interest to ourselves, as having formed the mind of Ridley and Cranmer upon this particular question. For further particulars of interest concerning it, fee Knox's Remains, vol. ii. p. 157, and Christian Remembrancer, July, 1867.

what was deemed a distinctly facerdotal dress, modelled in detail upon the vestments of Levitical priesthood, both promoted, and in its turn was promoted by, such developments of doctrine as those to which I refer.

With this much of Preface, I may ask my readers to proceed to the study of the many monuments, both of primitive and of mediæval times, which are set out in the later pages of this volume.



Ancient Glass from the Roman Catacombs. See description at p. 247.

PASSAGES FROM ANCIENT AUTHORS.

I.

NAMES OF THE SACERDOTAL VESTMENTS AS ENUMERATED IN HOLY SCRIPTURE.

The various passages in Holy Scripture in which the vestments of the Levitical priesthood are described or referred to, need not be quoted at length, as they are easily accessible to all. But it will be convenient for purposes of reference to specify the various names by which those vestments were known in the Apostolic age, and in those which followed, whether in Greek, through the LXX., or in Latin, through the early Italic Versions, and that of S. Jerome.

		LXX.	S. JEROME.	ENGLISH A. V.
т. Т	The Linen Drawers.	ສະ ຄູເσκελη λινα.	Feminalia linea.	Linen Breeches.
	The White Tunic (of linen).	χιτών ποδήρης, οτ χιτών βύσσινος.	Tunica talaris, or linea stricta.	Coat, long robe.
з. Т	The Girdle.	Zwn.	Balteus, cingulum, or zona.	Girdle.
4. T	The Priest's Cap.	κίδαςις, οτ μίτςα.	Cidaris, or mitra.	Bonnet.
5. T	The Tunic of Blue worn under the Ephod.	and the second s	Tunica superhumeralis.	Broidered coat, or Robe of the Ephod.
6. Т	The Ephod, with the bands thereof.		Superbumerale and Balteus (Exod. xxxix. 5).	Ephod, and 'curious Girdle' of the Ephod.
	The Breaftplate, or Jewel of the Ephod.	λόγιον, οτ πεςιστήθιον.	Rationale.	Breastplate.
	The Tiara, or High- Priest's Mitre, with the Plate of Gold.	κίδαρις, οτ μίτρα, with πέταλον.	Cidaris, or Tiara, with Lamna.	Mitre, with the Plate of Gold, or Holy Crown.

The passages of chief importance are Exod. xxviii. xxix. and xxxix.; Lev. viii. and xvi. (compare below, note 17); Num. x 26-28; Ezek. xliv. 17, sqq. In the Apocryphal Books, Ecclus. xlv., and 1 Macc. x. 21,

where by 'n iseèà στολή is meant not one fingle robe only (as in A. V. "put on him the holy robe"), but the entire investiture of the high-priest.

JOSEPHUS.

ON THE SACERDOTAL VESTMENTS OF THE LEVITICAL PRIESTHOOD.

i. Antiq. Jud. III. 7.

[HE begins by faying that there are veftments proper both to the ordinary priefts known as $X\alpha\nu\alpha\tilde{\imath}\alpha\iota$, and to the $\Lambda\nu\alpha\varrho\alpha\beta\dot{\alpha}\chi\eta_{5}$, —i.e. chief of priefts or high-prieft. These he proceeds to describe in detail.]

Dress of the Priests (of the second order).—1. The Linen Drawers. The dress of the priests is such as I shall now describe. When any one of them is about to engage in offices of priesthood he performs the ablutions required by the law, and then puts on, first, the garment called Μαναχασης, equivalent in meaning to the Greek συναπής. These are drawers made of linen, fastened about the middle, into which the feet are passed, as would be the case with Persian trousers. They do not reach higher than the waist, where they are securely fastened.

2. The long white Tunic, and (3) the Girdle thereof. Over these drawers he wears an under-garment of linen, made of bysius. It is called $\mathbf{x} \in \theta \circ \mu \neq \nu \eta$,—that is, "made of linen;" for $\mathbf{x} \in \theta \circ \nu \psi$ with us means flax. This garment is a full-length tunic ($\mathbf{x} \in \theta \circ \mu \neq \nu \psi$), fitted exactly to the body, and with its sleeves fastened closely about the

² Χαναίας is, probably, the Hellenic reprefentative of μπ.

³ The reading here (as often is the cafe with foreign words in old MSS.) is probably corrupt. Various emendations have been proposed, as Paβαχαάνην, or Paβαχοανην,—i.e. chief of the priests. But these are in the highest degree uncertain.

Heb. מכנסי.

⁵ The Greek $\beta i\sigma\sigma os = \text{Heb. 772}$; which means fometimes (α) fine flax, fometimes (β)

the fine linen thence prepared. It would feem to be used occasionally (γ) with a primary reference to its *bright white* colour (candor). Compare Note 19.

⁶ τὰς χειρίδας περὶ τοῖς βραχίοσιν κατεσοριγμένος. This closenets of fit, and the absence, generally, of all loosely-flowing garments, in the dress of the Levitical priesthood, is a characteristic necessarily entailed (for cleanliness sake) by the nature of their ministrations in respect of animal facrisice.

arms. This they gird in to the breast, not far from the armpit, passing the girdle round the body, very high up.+ This girdle is four fingers broad, and woven in open pattern, like the scales of a serpent. Upon it flowers are worked in divers colours of purple, blue, and white; but the woof is made of byffus only. When worn, the priest begins by placing one end upon his cheft, and then passes it twice round him, and fastens it: after which, if he is not engaged in the active duties of his ministry, he lets it flow down full as far as the ankles. The beauty of the girdle is thus fully difplayed. But whenever he is required to bufy himself about the sacrifices, or in other acts of ministry, he throws it over his left shoulder, and so wears it that its movements may not interfere with the work in which he may be engaged. This girdle was named by Moses 'Αβανήθ, but by us of these days it is called 'Eμίαν, a name which we learnt from the Babylonians, by whom it is still employed. The tunic above fpoken of has no loofe folds in any part of it; but the opening for the neck is left of full fize, and is fastened up, upon the chest and back, just above either collar-bone, by strings attached to the border. Μασσαβαζάνης is the name by which it is known.

4. The Priest's Cap. On the head he wears a cap without any peak, rextending, not over the whole head, but over a little more than half of it. It is called μασναεμφθής. Its construction is such as to present the appearance of a turban, being a band of linen west, and of considerable thickness, folded upon itself several times, and so stitched together. At top of this band there is a covering of sine linen (σινδών) which overlaps it and reaches to the forehead, and is so arranged as to hide the stitching of the thick band below, which would have been unseemly if lest exposed, and to lie slat upon the skull. It is made to sit with great exactness, so as not to fall off while the priest is engaged in sacrifice. Thus much as to the dress of the priests generally, as distinct from that of the high-priest.

[†] δλίγον τῆς μασχάλης ὑπεράνω τὴν ζώνην περιάγοντες. The translation above given is fuggested for want of a better. To render the words with sormer translations, paulo supra axillas, gives a meaning which is unintelligible as applied to a girdle.

⁷ πίλος ἄκωνος. He mentions thus particularly the absence of any "cone" or peak,

because among the priestly insignia of many heathen rites such a peak was conspicuous. See Pl. V. Or the contrast intended may be that of the high-priest's tiara.

⁸ τη κατασκευή τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὡς στεφάνη δοκεῖν. The exact meaning of στεφάνη is doubtful.

VESTMENTS WORN BY THE HIGH PRIEST ONLY.

5. The Tunic of blue with its Girdle. The high-priest wears the veftments already described, without omitting any; but over them he wears further a tunic of blue,9 reaching to the feet, like that first described, and known in our tongue as the ussie. This is fastened about him with a girdle of the fame colours as that already described, but with gold thread also introduced. Along the lower border is a fringe attached, coloured and fashioned so as to resemble pomegranates; and with them golden bells devised with great beauty of appearance, and so arranged that, between each two bells a pomegranate is set, and between each two pomegranates a bell. This tunic is not formed in two separate parts, fastened together by a seam upon the shoulders and at the fide, but confifts of one long piece, woven throughout, and has an opening flit for the neck, not horizontally, but lengthwife (vertically) towards the cheft and the middle of the back. Upon the opening thus made, an edging, or border, is fewn, fo as to conceal anything unfeemly in the opening thus made. A fimilar flit is made at the wrists.

6 and 7. The Ephod and the Breassplate. Over and above these he puts on, thirdly, 10 the ephod, as it is called, resembling the ἐπωμὶς of the Greeks. The sashion of it is as sollows:—It is woven for the space of a cubit in depth of various colours, with wrought work of gold, and leaves the middle of the breass uncovered. It is surnished with sleeves, and in its whole sashion is constructed as a tunic. In the space lest void by the ephod itself, a piece of cut (squared) cloth is sastened, wrought in divers colours like those of the ephod. It is called Έσσήνης, and means in the Greek tongue "Oracle." This exactly sills up that space which in the weaving of the ephod was lest as an opening on the breast. It is united by golden rings at each corner to the ephod, which is itself provided with corresponding rings for the purpose, and the one set of rings is attached to the other by a band of blue cloth. And that the parts intervening between these rings might not hang loose and out of shape, a plan was devised for

girdle, or bands, belonging to this outer sunic (by which it was attached to the ephod) as the fecond.

⁹ χιτῶνα ἐξ ὑακίνθου πεποιημένον.

¹⁰ He speaks of the ephod as third among the distinctive vestments of the high-priest, reckoning the tunic of blue as the first, and the

keeping all in place by (νήματα υαχίνθινα) a stitched edging of blue. The ephod has a clasp of fardonyx on either shoulder, each of the two projecting ends being wrought in gold, fo as to fit in with the clasps. Upon these stones are inscribed the names of the twelve fons of Jacob in the letters proper to our native language, fix on either stone. The elder sons' names are on the right shoulder, those of the younger on the left. So likewife on the breaftplate (or "Oracle") there are fet twelve stones of unufual fize and beauty, forming an ornament fuch as men generally could not poffibly obtain because of its exceeding costliness. These stones are arranged in lines, there being four rows, and each of these containing three stones. They are worked into the stuff on which they are fixed with a fetting of gold, whose ornamental work is so inserted into the stuff as to hold together without giving way. Of the four rows the first contains a fardonyx, a topaz, and an emerald; the fecond a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire. In the third are, first, a lyncurius, then an amethyst, and an agate; making up nine in all, thus far. In the lowest row a chrysolite stands first; afterwards an onyx, and, lastly, a beryl. On all these stones letters were engraved, which served to defignate Jacob's fons, whom we regard as the heads of our twelve tribes. Each stone bears a name of some one patriarch, according to the order of birth. The rings already mentioned are too weak of themselves to bear the weight of the stones. Accordingly, the border of the breastplate, where it reaches upwards towards the neck, is furnished with two larger rings, inserted into the principal texture. These rings are to receive certain chains of wrought work, which, on the top of either shoulder, met and were attached to cords of gold. The end of these cords was turned up, and reached 11 as far as a ring projecting from the hinder border of the ephod. Thus was the breaftplate fecured from all danger of giving way.

The ephod was also furnished with a girdle, wrought in divers colours and in gold, as already described; and this encircled the ephod, and was then brought back and fastened at the seam, and then hung down. The fringes of the ephod were bordered on either side, and kept in place, by cylinders of gold.

8. The High-priest's Cap, or Mitre. A cap, 19 fuch as that already

¹¹ ἀνέβαινε πρίπφ προέχοντι. I fuspect that the true reading is ἐνέβαινε, with the meaning 12 πίλος = Latin pileus, or pileum.

described as worn by the priests generally, was affigned to the high-priest also. But above this, and sewn on to it, he had another, made of blue, and richly ornamented. Round this cap ran a circlet of gold, wrought in three tiers, and upon this circlet is a cup-shaped flower, exactly resembling what our own people call Saccharus, but is known to the Greek herbalists as Hyoscyamus. [Here follows in the original text a long description of the plant in question, which I have omitted as being very obscure, and not of importance to the questions now before us.] The golden circlet thus formed extends from the back of the head to either temple. But to the forehead itself the flower-shaped ornament, just described, does not extend. But there is here a plate of gold, on which is engraved, in facred letters, to the holy name of God. Thus have I described the adornment of the high-priest.

2. DE BELLO JUDAICO. (LIB. V. CAP. V. § 7.)

Those of the priests who, by reason of any bodily defect, did not engage in holy ministrations, were wont to appear, together with those who had no such defect, inside the enclosure, and received the portions due to them by right of birth, but wore the garments of ordinary life. For the sacred dress was worn only by one who ministered (at the altar). But those of the priests who were without

¹³ περίερχεται στέφανος χρύσεος έπὶ τριστοιχίαν κεχαλκευμένος. No mention of this triple crown is made in H. S. But Josephus tells us (Antiq. Jud. xx. cap. 9), that Judas fon of Hyrcanus, being at once high-priest and king, διάδημα περιέθετο πρώτος, was the first to affume a royal crown (in addition, i.e. to the facerdotal tiara). And then we read at a later period that when Pompey restored another Hyrcanus to the high-priesthood of which, and of the royalty then attaching thereto, he had been deprived by his brother Aristobulus, την μέν τοῦ έθνους προστασίαν ἐπέτρεψε, διάδημα δε φορείν εκώλυσε, he made over to him the government of his own people, but prevented his wearing a (royal) crown. It is probable, therefore, that the tiara with triple crown described by Josephus, was a combination of the fymbols of spiritual and temporal

power, as is the triple crown (fee Pl. 33) of the later Roman popes. The triple crown of the Jewish priest-king may have had reference to the three governments (1 Macc. x. 30) of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee.

¹⁴ σελαμῶν χούσεος. "Band" is the more literal rendering. But St. Jerome was no doubt right in confidering the word as being here equivalent to the Latin lamna, a thin plate of metal.

¹⁵ Γεροῖς γράμμασι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπισετμημένος. The expression is not inconsistent with that which is recorded in Holy Scripture, viz., that the words upon the plate were, "Holiness unto the Lord." (Exod. xxviii. 36.) By Γερὰ γράμματα are probably meant the older "Samaritan" letters, so called.

disqualifying defect went up to the altar and the Holy Place, having about them a vesture of fine linen,16 and abstained carefully from strong wine, out of reverence for the duty they had to perform, that in nothing they might transgress while engaged in their holy ministra-And the high-priest went up with them, yet not always so, but on the feventh days, and on the new moons, and at any national festival, or general assembly of the people, of annual observance. And he performed his ministry, covered from the thighs to the groin with a girding band; and wearing an inner garment of linen, and over this a long vefture of blue, circular in form, and furnished with a fringe. To these fringes were fastened golden bells, and pomegranates alternating therewith; the bells fignificant of thunder, the pomegranates of lightning. [Then follows a description of the ephod, the breaftplate, and the tiara, much fuch as that already quoted; and he then adds]:-This dress he (the high-priest) was not in the habit of wearing at other times, but put on one of fimpler character; but he did wear it on occasions of his entering (ὁπότε εἰσίοι) the most Holy Place, which he did once only in each year, and alone, on the day (of Atonement) when it is customary for all to keep fast unto God.17

16 ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἀνέβαινον οἱ τῶν ἱερέων ἄμωμοι βύσσον μὲν ἀμπεχόμενοι.
. . This drefs being of linen would, in the nature of things, be white. Compare the passage of Philo commented on in note 17.

before actually entering within the vail on the Day of Atonement, laid afide his garments of glory, and entered the Most Holy Place clad in white only. What Josephus here states is perfectly confishent with this; though all that he speaks of is the fact of these garments of glory being worn on occasion of this particular day. The fact being, no doubt, that the high-priest went into the Holy Place, in his robes "of glory," and laid them aside, in the Temple, before entering within the vail.

¹⁷ The statement here made, that the highpriest wore his "golden vestments" on the Day of Atonement, is not really inconsistent (as has been supposed by some) with the distinct affertion made by Philo (see below, p. 8), and confirmed by Lev. xvi. 4, 23. From both these last we gather that the high-priest,

III.

PHILO JUDÆUS.

OF THE WHITE VESTMENTS WORN ON . THE DAY OF ATONEMENT.

1. LIBER DE SOMNIIS, p. 597.

τὸν μεν ἀρχιερέα ὁπότε μέλλοι τὰς νόμω προστεταγμένας ἐπιτελεῖν λειτουργίας δ ίερδς έδικαίωσε λόγος ύδατι και τέφρα περιβραίνεσθαι τὸ πρώτον είς ύπόμνησιν έαυτοῦ, καὶ γὰς ὁ σόφος ᾿Αβράαμ ὅτε ἐντευζόμενος ἤει γῆν καὶ σποδὸν είπεν έαυτον, ἔπειτ' ἐνδύεσθαι τον ποδήξη χιτῶνα και το ποικίλον ὁ κέκληκεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιστήθιον, τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν Φωσφόρων ἄστρων ἀπεικόνισμα καλ μίμημα. Δύο γάς ὡς ἔοικεν ἰεςἀ θεοῦ. ἕν μέν ὅδε ὁ κόσμος ἐν ὧ καὶ ἀςχιεςεὺς ὁ πρωτόγονος αὐτοῦ θεῖος λόγος έτερον δε λογική ψυχή ής ίερευς ὁ πρός ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπος, οδ μίμημα αἰσθητὸν ὁ τὰς πατείους εὐχάς τε καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελῶν ἔστιν, ῷ τὸ είρημένον ἐπιγέγραπται χιτῶνα ἐνδύεσθαι τοῦ παντὸς ἀντιμίμημα ὄντα οὐρανοῦ, ίνα συνιερουργή και δ κόσμος άνθρώπω, και τῷ παντι ἄνθρωπος. Δύο μὲν οὖν είδη τό τε ράντον και το ποικίλον τύπων έχων ἐπιδέδεικται το δὲ τρίτον και τελειότατον δς δνομάζεται διάλευπος αυτίπα σημανούμεν σταν είς τὰ ἐσώτατα τῶν ἀγίων ό αὐτὸς οὖτος ἀρχιερεὺς εἰσίη τὴν μὲν ποικίλην ἐσθῆτα ἀπαμφίσκεται λινῆν δὲ έτεραν βύσσου της καθαρωτάτης πεποιημένην άναλαμβάνει ή δ' έστι σύμβολον εὐτονίας αὐγοειδεστάτου Φέγγους. ᾿Αρραγεστέρα γὰρ ἡ ὀθόνη καὶ ἐξ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων γίνεται, καὶ ἔτι λαμπεότατον καὶ φωτοειδέστατον ἔχει μὴ ἀμελῶς καθαεθείσα χεωμα.

The high-prieft, when about to perform the holy offices by law affigned to him, was required by the facred word (of God) to fprinkle himself, in the first place, with water and ashes, as a remembrance to him of his own self (for even Abraham, the wise, when he was going to make intercession, spake of himself as being dust and ashes) and then to put on the long ("tunic") robe, and the ornament of curious work called the breastplate, being a copy and image of the light-giving constellations that are in heaven. For the Temples of God are, as it seemeth, two. One is this, our own world, wherein

also the Divine Word, God's first-begotten, is High-priest; but the other temple is the reasonable soul, whose Priest is the true Man, whose embodied representation is he who duly offers the prayers and sacrifices after the manner of our fathers, to whom is given that precept of which I spake, that he should put upon him the robe which is the image of the whole heaven, in order that, in one act of sacrifice, the world may join with man, and man with all creation.

We have seen now that two kinds of the types spoken of above are to be found in the person of the high-priest. We will now signify the same truth in respect of the third and most persect (colour) that which is called "throughly white." Whenever that same high-priest, of whom we spake, entereth into the innermost sanctuary of the Most Holy Place, he putteth off his variegated garments, and assumeth another vesture of linen, made of byssus, and this serveth to indicate the intensity of most brilliant light. For the cloth thus formed is very hard to rend, neither is the material thereof furnished by any creature subject unto death, and if it be carefully cleansed, it hath a most bright and luminous colour. 19

linen. Those who have observed the effect produced by white linen, as seen in the bright light of a southern climate, will not wonder at such expressions as that of Philo above quoted. With it compare λίνον παθαρόν καὶ λαμπρόν (Αρος. xv. 6), and again (xix. 8), in speaking of the marriage garment worn by the Bride of the Lamb, ἐδόθη αὐτῆ ὅνα περιβάληται βύσσινον παθαρόν καὶ λαμπρόν. Essewhere white garments are said ἀστράπτειν, to gleam as does lightning (Luke, xxiv. 4); οτ στίλβειν (Mar. ix. 3), to shine as do the stars.

¹⁸ He had been speaking of the mystical meaning of the three colours mentioned in Gen. xxx. and xxxi., διάλιυχα, i.e. partly white, but capable of meaning ("throughly" or "thoroughly," and so) "very white;" ποικίλα, variegated; and σποδοιδᾶ ράντά, "of the colour of ashes (and) sprinkled," or "speckled." The play on words to which Philo has recourse can scarcely be reproduced in English.

¹⁹ Note here the brilliancy (λαμπεότης, or candor) which ancient writers, both in East and West, attribute to vestments of white

IV.

HIERONYMUS.

EPISTOLA AD FABIOLAM DE VESTE SACERDOTALI.ºº

[Vol. II. p. 574.]

Usque hodie in lectione veteris Testamenti super faciem Moysi velamen positum est. Loquitur glorificato vultu, et populus loquentis gloriam ferre non sustinet. Quum autem conversi suerimus ad Dominum, auferetur velamen: occidens littera moritur, vivisicans spiritus suscitatur. Dominus enim spiritus est, et lex spiritalis. Unde et David orabat in Psalmo: Revela oculos meos: et considerabo mirabilia de lege tua.

Et ne longum faciam (neque enim propositum mihi est nunc de tabernaculo scribere) veniam ad sacerdotalia vestimenta: et antequam mysticam scruter intelligentiam, more Judaico, quæ scripta sunt, simpliciter exponam: ut postquam vestitum videris sacerdotem, et oculis tuis omne ejus patuerit ornamentum, tunc singulorum caussas pariter exquiramus.

Discamus primum communes sacerdotum vestes atque pontificum. Lineis feminalibus, quæ usque ad genua et poplites veniunt, verenda cælantur, et superior pars sub umbilico vehementer aftringitur: ut si quando expediti mactant victimas, tauros et arietes trahunt, portantque onera, et in officio ministrandi sunt, etiam si lapsi suerint, et femora revelaverint, non pateat quod opertum est. Inde et gradus altaris prohibentur sieri: ne inferior populus ascendentium verenda conspiciat: vocaturque lingua Hebræa hoc genus vestimenti machnase (τοιοιο) Græcè περισκελῆ, à nostris feminalia, vel bracæ²ι usque ad genua pertingentes. Refert Josephus (nam ætate ejus adhuc templum stabat: et necdum Vespasianus et Titus Jerosolymam subverterant, et erat

²⁰ Written at Bethlehem in the year 396 pertingentes." This last is exactly our own r 397.

²¹ A nostris feminalia vel bracæ ad genua

IV.

ST. JEROME

ON THE SACERDOTAL VESTMENTS.20

LETTER TO FABIOLA.

In the reading of the Old Testament, even to this day, there is a veil upon the face of Moses. There is a glory upon his face as he speaks, and the people cannot bear to look thereon. But when we have turned unto the Lord the veil shall be taken away. Then doth the letter which killeth die, and the spirit, which giveth life, is stirred up. For the Lord is a Spirit, and spiritual, too, is the Law. For which cause David prayed in the Psalm (cxix. 18) "Take thou the veil from mine eyes, and I will consider the wondrous things of thy law."

[Then after a digreffion concerning the parts of the various victims referved for the use of the priests under the Levitical law, and a statement of their mystical fignification, he proceeds as follows:]

I come now to the facerdotal robes (of the Levitical prieft), and before inquiring into their mystical meaning, I will set down literally, after the manner of the Jews, what is written, that so, when you have seen the priest clad in his robes, and all his adornment has been set out before your eyes, we may then inquire likewise into the reasons of each particular.

Let us observe, first, what were the vestments common to priests and to high-priest alike. They have a covering for the thighs made of linen, and reaching down to the knees and the back of the leg, the upper part thereof being tied tightly about the middle of the body, so that when lightly clad for the slaying of victims, dragging forwards bulls or rams, carrying burdens, or engaged in other office of ministration, there may be no unseemly exposure. . . This kind of vestment is called in Hebrew, MACHNASE [COLOR), in Greek TEGIONEN, and in Latin feminalia (thigh-pieces) or bracæ.²¹ It is said by Josephus (and in his day the Temple was yet standing, and Jerusalem not yet

ipse de genere sacerdotali, multoque plus intelligitur quod oculis videtur, qùam quod aure percipitur) hæc feminalia de bysso retorta ob fortitudinem solere contexi, et post quàm incisa suerint, acu consui. Non enim posse in tela hujuscemodi fieri.

Secunda ex lino tunica est ποδήςης, id est, talaris, duplici sindone, quam et ipsam Josephus byssinam vocat, appellaturque chotonath (σια) id est, χιτων, quod Hebræo sermone in lineam vertitur. Hæc adhæret corpori, et tam arcta est et strictis manicis, ut nulla omnino in veste sit ruga: et usque ad crura 22 descendat. Volo pro legentis facilitate abuti sermone vulgato. Solent militantes habere lineas, quas camisias 23 vocant, sic aptas membris et astrictas corporibus, ut expediti sint vel ad cursum, vel ad prælia, dirigendo jaculo, tenendo clypeo, ense vibrando, et quoquumque necessitas traxerit. Ergo et sacerdotes parati in ministerium Dei, utuntur hac tunica, ut habentes pulchritudinem vestimentorum, nudorum celeritate discurrant. [Note 6, p. 2.]

Tertium genus est vestimenti, quod illi appellant ABANET (מכנש), nos cingulum, vel baltheum, vel zonam posiumus dicere. Babylonii novo vocabulo hemian (המנו) vocant. Diversa vocabula ponimus, ne quis erret in nomine. Hoc cingulum in similitudinem pellis colubri, qua exuit senectutem, sic in rotundum textum est, ut marsupium longius putes. Textum est autem subtemine cocci, purpuræ, hiacynthi, et stamine byssino, ob decorem et fortitudinem: atque ita polymita arte distinctum, ut diversos slores ac gemmas artificis manu non textas, sed additas arbitreris. Lineam tunicam, de qua supra diximus, inter umbilicum et pectus hoc stringunt baltheo, qui quattuor digitorum habens latitudinem, et ex una parte ad crura dependens, cum ad facrificia cursu expeditione opus est, in lævum humerum retorquetur.

Quartum genus est vestimenti, rotundum pileolum, quale pictum

open at the fides, could have allowed of the active (even violent) exertions that would fometimes be required of the Levitical priefts.

²² S. Jerome here distinctly states (what is contrary to general impression) that the χιτών ποδήςης of the Jewish priests extended only ad crura, i.e. about half-way between the knee and the ankle. He is probably right. Though ποδήςης means literally (like talaris) reaching to the feet; it was probably a conventional term for any of the longer tunics worn on occasions of state, whether it actually reached to the feet or no. And it is difficult to understand how a close fitting tunic that really reached to the feet, and was not

²³ Camissia. S. Isidore (Orig. xix. 22, 29) derives the word a camis, "quod in bis dorminus in camis, id est in stratis nostris." With him it is a night-shirt. In S. Jerome's time it was evidently a term of the lingua volgaris, for which he offers a fort of apology. From it are descended It. Camicia (and Camice "an alb," to which camissia is compared above); Fr. and Eng. Chemise.

overthrown, and he was himself of the priestly order, and the eye in such matters as this is more to be trusted than the ear) that these feminalia were woven of byssus, doubled upon itself for greater strength, and sewn together with a needle when properly cut out; it being impossible to make a garment of this kind in the ordinary way upon a loom.

Next comes a linen tunic, of the kind called ποδήgης, that is, reaching to the feet, made double of the fine linen called findon, or, according to Josephus, of byssus, like the last. The name of this is CHOTONATH (i.e. χιτών), a word equivalent in Hebrew to the Latin linea. This is closely fitted to the body, and is fo fcanty, and with fleeves fo narrow, that there is no fold in this garment. It reaches a little below the knee.22 For better understanding of what I fay I may employ a fomewhat common word of our own. Our foldiers, when on fervice, wear linen garments, which they call "fhirts,"23 fitting fo closely, and fo fastened about the body, as to leave them free for action, whether in running or in fighting, hurling the javelin, holding the shield, wielding the sword, or whatever elfe, as need may require. And fo the priefts, flanding prepared for the fervice of God, wear a tunic fuch as this, fo that while they have their robes of beauty, they may haften to and fro like men that stand stripped for speed.

The third of the prieftly vestments is what the Jews call ABANET, a word which may be rendered girdle, belt, or zone. In Chaldaic it has a different name, HEMIAN. I mention these different names to prevent mistake. This belt is made like the skin of a serpent, wherewith it puts off the decay of old age. And it is woven round so as to resemble a long purse. The warp thereof is of scarlet, purple, and blue; the web of fine slax for beauty and strength. The ornaments thereon are so wrought by the skill of the embroiderer, that the various slowers and gems might well be deemed to have been set there in reality, rather than woven by the hand of the artisscer. The linen tunic, already spoken of, is girt into the waist by this belt, which is four singers broad, and with one part of it pendent below the knee, but is thrown back on to the lest shoulder when the more active duties of actual sacrifice so require.

The fourth of the yestments is a small round cap, such as we see on the head of Ulysses, much as though a sphere were to be divided in Ulysse conspicimus, quasi sphæra media sit divisa, et pars una ponatur in capite: hoc Græci et nostri τιάςαν, nonnulli galerum vocant, Hebræi μισνετικ (αντάςαν): non habet acumen in summo, nec totum usque ad comam caput tegit: sed tertiam partem à fronte inopertam relinquit: atque ita in occipitio vitta constrictum est, ut non facilè labatur ex capite. Est autem byssinum, et sic sabrè opertum linteolo, ut nulla acûs vestigia forinsecus appareant.

His quattuor vestimentis, id est, feminalibus, tunica linea, cingulo quod purpura, cocco, bysso, hiacynthoque contexitur, et pileo, de quo nunc diximus, tam sacerdotes quam Pontisices utuntur. Reliqua quattuor propriè Pontisicum sunt, quorum primum est mail (१९९५), id est, tunica talaris, tota hiacynthina, ex lateribus ejusdem coloris assutas habens manicas, et in superiori parte qua collo induitur aperta, quòd vulgò capitium est vocant, oris firmissimis ex se textis, ne facilè rumpantur. In extrema parte, id est, ad pedes, septuaginta duo sunt tintinnabula, et totidem mala punica, iisdem contexta coloribus, ut supra cingulum. Inter duo tintinnabula unum malum est: inter duo mala unum tintinnabulum, ut alterutrum sibi media sint: caussaque redditur. Idcirco tintinnabula vesti apposita sunt, ut quum ingreditur Pontisex in Sancta Sanctorum, totus vocalis incedat, statim moriturus si hoc non fecerit.

Septuaginta ἐπωμίδα, id est, superhumerale appellant. Aquila ἐπένδυμα, nos ephod suo ponimus nomine. Et ubiquumque in Exodo, sive in Levitico superhumerale legitur, sciamus apud Hebræos ephod appellari. Hoc autem esse Pontificis vestimentum, et in quadam Epistola scripsisse me memini: et omnis Scriptura testatur sacrum quiddam esse, et solis conveniens Pontificibus. Nec statim illud occurrat, quòd Samuel qui Levita suit, scribitur in regnorum primo libro, habuisse ætatis adhuc parvulæ ephod bad, id est, superhumerale lineum: quum David quoque ante arcam Domini idem portasse referatur. Aliud est enim ex quattuor supradictis coloribus, id est, hiacyntho, bysso, cocco, purpura, et ex auro habere contextum: aliud in similitudinem sacerdotum simplex et lineum. Auri laminæ, id est, bracteæ, mira tenuitate tenduntur, ex quibus secta sila torquentur, cum subtegmine trium colorum, hiacyntho, cocci, purpuræ, et cum stamine byssino: et essectur

²⁴ Capitium, here the opening of the tunic, its "head-piece" fo to fay. Compare Papias | capitis foramen in veste."

through the centre, and one-half thereof to be put upon the head. This is what in Greek and in Latin is called a tiara, but sometimes also galerus; in Hebrew, MISNEPHETH. It has no peak at top, nor does it cover the whole head as far as the hair extends, but leaves about a third of the front part of the head uncovered. It is attached by a band (vitta) on to the back of the head, so as not to be liable to fall off. It is made of byssus, and is so skilfully finished with an outer linen cover that no marks of the needle are to be seen without.

These four vestments, viz. the drawers, the linen tunic, the girdle woven with purple, scarlet, sine linen, and blue, and the cap just described, are in use by priests and high-priests alike. The remaining four belong exclusively to the high-priests. And these of the first is the MAIL, a full-length tunic, entirely of blue, with sleeves on either side of the same colour; and made open at top, where the opening is made for the head, a strong edging being attached to the selvage to prevent its tearing. On its lower edge, at the feet, there are seventy-two bells, and as many pomegranates, made in the same colours as the girdle above described. The bells and the pomegranates alternate one with the other. And a reason is afsigned for the addition of these bells, namely, that when the high-priest enters into the Holy of Holies, there may be a sound heard all about him as he goes, seeing that he would incur instant death were this not done.

The fixth of the vestments is called in Hebrew ephod, by the LXX, ¿πωμίς, i.e. superhumerale. In the version of Aquila it is ἐπένδυμα [or "fupervestment"], with our own writers the original word, ephod, is often retained. And wherever in Exodus or in Leviticus the word superhumerale is read, this is to be understood as representing the Hebrew ephod. That this vestment belongs exclusively to the high-priest, I remember to have said in one of my letters, and all Scripture proves the same, that this vestment is of a sacred nature and suited for the high-priests alone. Let it not be objected that, in the first Book of Kings, we read of Samuel, who was a Levite, having, when yet quite a child, a "linen ephod," EPHOD BAD, for David also is said to have worn a similar dress before the ark. But it is one thing to have an ephod woven in the colours already described (blue, fine linen, scarlet, purple and gold); another thing to have a simple linen cphod resembling (in shape) that

palliolum miræ pulchritudinis, præstringens sulgore oculos in modum Caracallarum, 65 sed absque cucullis. Contra pectus nihil contextum est, et locus suturo Rationali derelictus. In utroque humero habet singulos lapides clausos et astrictos auro, qui Hebraice dicuntur soom (va): ab Aquila et Symmacho et Theodotione onychini: à Septuaginta sinaragdi transferuntur: Josephus, sardonychas vocat, cum Hebræo Aquilaque consentiens: ut vel colorem lapidum, vel patriam demonstraret. Et in singulis lapidibus sena Patriarcharum nomina sunt, quibus Israeliticus populus dividitur. In dextro humero majores silii Jacob, in lævo minores scripti sunt: ut Pontisex ingrediens Sancta Sanctorum, nomina populi pro quo rogaturus est Dominum, portet in humeris.

Septimum vestimentum est mensura parvulum, sed cunctis supradictis facratius. Intende quæso animum, ut quæ dicuntur, intelligas. Hebraicè vocatur Hosen (אושן), Græcè autem λόγιον, nos Rationale possumus appellare, ut ex ipso statim nomine scias mysticum esse quod dicitur. Pannus est brevis ex auro et quattuor textus coloribus, hoc est, iisdem quibus et Superhumerale, habens magnitudinem palmi per quadrum, et duplex, ne facile rumpatur. Intexti funt enim ei duodecim lapides miræ magnitudinis atque precii per quattuor ordines: ita ut in fingulis verficulis terni lapides collocentur. In primo ordine fardius, topazius, fmaragdus ponitur. Symmachus diffentit in fmaragdo, ceraunium pro eo transferens. In fecundo carbunculus, fapphirus, jaspis. In tertio lyncurius, achates, amethystus. In quarto chrysolithus, onychinus, berillus. Satisque miror cur hiacynthus prætiosissimus lapis in horum numero non ponatur: nisi fortè ipse est alio nomine lyncurius. Scrutans eos qui de lapidum atque gemmarum scripsere naturis, lyncurium invenire non potui.26 In fingulis lapidibus fecundum ætates duodecim tribuum sculpta sunt nomina. Hos lapides in diademate

26 See Theophrastus περὶ τῶν λίθων, 28, 31, and Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvii. c. 4.

²⁵ The caracalla, originally a Gaulish dress, was introduced among the Romans by M. Aurelius Antoninus [Emperor A.D. 210 to 217], surnamed "Caracalla" from his habitual wearing of it. It was surnished with a hood (cuculla), and this is the reason why S. Jerome adds here "fed absque cucullis." An Emperor having set the fashion, it speedily passed into general use. And we find it mentioned from time to time either as a splendid dress (such as the context here shows to be meant) or as worn in ordinary life, by per-

fons high and low, the name being retained in reference to its shape, though in material and in colour it might vary infinitely. In the story of the martyrdom of St. Alban given by Bede [Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 6], we find it worn by a clergyman (clericus) in Britain, and the context there implies that at that time it was a somewhat unusual dress. This was during the persecution of Diocletian at the close of the third century.

of the priefts. The gold-leaf used in making this robe is drawn out to a marvellous thinness, and then twisted into separate threads. The woof is of three colours,-hlue, fcarlet, and purple, and the web of bysfus; and so a vestment is formed of wondrous beauty, dazzling the eyes as does our own caracalla,25 but not furnished with a hood. Upon the breast there is an open space left, affording room for the "Rational," which is there to be. On either shoulder there is a fingle stone, enclosed and set in gold. These stones are in Hebrew called soom, explained as meaning onyx 'yy Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, but by the LXX as emeralds. Josephus, following the Hebrew and Aquila, calls them fardonyx, to indicate either the colour of the stones, or, it may be, the place where they are found. On each of these stones are the names of fix of the twelve patriarchs, who give their names to the twelve Tribes of Israel. On the right shoulder are inscribed the elder sons of Jacob, the younger on the left; in order that the high-prieft, as he enters the Holy of Holies, may bear upon his shoulders the names of the people for the which he is about to entreat the Lord.

The feventh vestment is small in fize, but more holy than all those above mentioned. Give me your especial attention now, for the better understanding of what I say. It is called in Hebrew HOSEN, in Greek λόγιον. We ourselves may call it the "Rational," that the very name may at once point to a mystical meaning. It is a fmall piece of cloth, woven in gold and four colours, the fame as the ephod. It is fquare, and of a palm's breadth each way, and made double for greater strength. Into it were fastened twelve precious stones of great size, and very costly, in four rows, three stones to each line. On the top line were a fardine stone, a topaz, and an emerald. Symmachus differs as regards the "emerald," which he renders "ceraunius." On the second line, a carbuncle, fapphire, and jasper. On the third, lyncurius, agate, and amethyst. On the fourth, a chrysolite, an onyx, and a beryl. I greatly wonder that so precious a stone as the jacynth has here no place. But perhaps the lyncurius is but another name for it. I have examined treatifes on precious stones and gems, but have found no mention 26 of the lyncurius. On these several stones are engraved the names of the tribes according to the ages of the patriarchs. We read (Ezek. xxviii.) of these stones on the diadem of the Prince of Tyre, and in the Revelation of John (Rev. xxi.), where they form the walls of

principis Tyri, et in Apocalypfi Joannis legimus, de quibus ex struitur cœlestis Jerusalem: et sub horum nominibus et specie, virtutum vel ordo, vel diversitas indicatur. Per quattuor Rationalis angulos, quattuor annuli funt aurei, habentes contra fe in Superhumerali alios quattuor: ut quum appositum fuerit λόγιον in loco, quem in Ephod diximus derelictum, anulus veniat contra anulum, et mutuo fibi vittis copulentur hiacynthinis. Porrò ne magnitudo et pondus lapidum contexta stamina rumperet, auro ligati sunt atque conclusi: nec suffecit hoc ad firmitatem, nisi et catenæ ex auro fierent, quæ ob pulchritudinem fistulis aureis tegerentur,27 haberentque et in Rationali fuprà duos majores anulos, qui uncinis Superhumeralis aureis necterentur, et deorsum alios duos: nam post tergum in Superhumerali contra pectus et stomachum, ex utroque latere erant anuli aurei, qui catenis cum Rationalis inferioribus anulis jungebantur: atque ita fiebat, ut aftringeretur et Rationale Superhumerali, et Superhumerale Rationali, ut una textura contra videntibus puta-

Octava est lumina aurea, id est, sis zaab (ציץ והב), in qua scriptum est nomen Dei Hebraicis quattuor litteris Jod, he, vav, he (יהוה), quod apud illos inessabile nuncupatur. Hæc super pileolum lineum commune omnium Sacerdotum, in Pontifice plus additur, ut in fronte vitta hiacynthina constringatur, totamque Pontificis pulchritudinem Dei vocabulum coronet et protegat.

Didicimus quæ vel communia cum Sacerdotibus, vel quæ specialia Pontificis vestimenta sint: et si tanta difficultas suit in vasis sictilibus, 28 quanta majestas erit in thesauro, qui intrinsecus latet! Dicamus igitur prius quod ab Hebræis accepimus: et juxta morem nostrum, spiritualis postea intelligentiæ vela pandamus.

²⁷ In Josephus σύριγγες. But his description here differs somewhat from that of S. Jerome. See above, p. 5.

²⁸ In vasis fictilibus. He alludes, of course,

to 2 Cor. iv. 7, where the Vulgate is, "Habemus autem thefaurum istum in vasis sietilibus ut sublimitas sit virtutis Dei et non ex nobis."

the heavenly Jerusalem; and under their names and species are suggested the order and diverse nature of the several virtues. Through the four corners of the Rational are inferted four golden rings, having four others on the ephod just opposite to them; so that when the λόγιον is fitted to the place which I have described as left open in the ephod, ring may be over against ring, and be fastened together with bands of blue. Moreover, the stones were fastened together with a fetting of gold, for fear that from their fize and weight the web to which they are attached should give way. Nor would this have been sufficient security, had not chains of gold been made (covered, for greater beauty, with small cylinders 27 of gold), having two larger rings on the upper part of the Rational (to be attached to the golden hooks of the ephod), and two others on the lower part. For, on the back of the ephod, at a height to correspond with the breast and lower part of the throat, there were golden rings on either fide, joined by chains to the lower rings of the Rational; and fo it was that the Rational was closely fastened to the ephod, the ephod to the Rational, in fuch manner as to appear to the spectator as if they were all of one piece.

Eighth in order was the plate of gold, SIS ZAAB, on which was inscribed the name of God in the four Hebrew letters Yod, He, Vav, He, "The unutterable Name," as they declare it. This is added in the case of the high-priest over and above the linen cap common to all the priests. It is attached to his forehead with a fastening band of blue. And so the Divine Name is as a crown and protection to the whole of that "fair beauty" with which the high-priest is clad.

We have now learnt what robes the high-priest has in common with the priests, and what specially appropriated to himself. And if we had so much of difficulty in speaking of "earthen vessels" what majesty shall there be in the treasure that lies concealed within! First, then, let me say what I have learnt on this matter from Hebrew authors, and after that, as our wont is, we may spread open the sails of spiritual interpretation.

[Here follows, at some length, the mysfical meaning attributed by the Jews to all the details already given. The sour colours represent the sour elements—earth, air, sire and water; the pomegranates and bells mean the thunder and lightning, or else the harmony of all the elements. The ephod, and its two precious

Tetigimus expositionem Hebraicam, et infinitam sensuum sylvam alteri tempori refervantes, quædam futuræ domus stravimus fundamenta.29 . . . Legimus in Levitico, juxta præceptum Dei, Moysen lavisse Aaron et filios ejus: jam tunc purgationem mundi, et rerum omnium, sanctitatem Baptismi, sacramenta signabant. Non accipiunt vestes, nisi lotis prius fordibus, nec ornantur ad sacra, nisi in Christo novi homines renascantur. Vinum enim novum in novis utribus mittitur. Quòd autem Moyses lavat, legis indicium est. Habent Moysen et Prophetas, ipsos audiant. Et ab Adam usque ad Moysen omnes peccaverunt. Præceptis Dei lavandi sumus, et quum parati ad indumentum Christi tunicas pelliceas deposuerimus,30 tunc induemur veste linea, nihil in sese mortis habente, sed tota candida: 31 ut de baptismo consurgentes, cingamus lumbos in veritate, et tota pristinorum peccatorum turpitudo celetur. Unde et David: Beati quorum remissæ sunt iniquitates, et quorum tecta sunt peccata. Post seminalia et lineam tunicam induimur hiacynthino vestimento,32 et incipimus de terrenis ad alta confcendere. Hæc ipfa hiacynthina tunica, à Septuaginta ὑποδύτης, id est, subucula nominatur, et propriè Pontificis est, fignificatque rationem fublimium non patere omnibus, fed majoribus

29 Quædam futuræ domus stravimus fundamenta; i.e. he had prepared the way for his own mystical application. 31 Sed tota candida. On the meaning of candidus, fee above note 19. The allusion is here to the white garments worn by the newly baptized.

³⁰ He takes up here the thought, alluded to as we have feen, by Philo (p. 8), that garments of animal origin (whether of fur or of wool) favour of mortality and corruption. Hence the expression of the text is equivalent to the ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθεωπον, "ftripping off the old humanity" of St. Paul (Col. iii. 9).

³² Vestimento biacynthino. In speaking of the Jewish mystical interpretation of this colour, "the foundation for his own building," he had noticed that to them this "jacynth blue," was significant of the sky. Hence what he here says. So again below, cidaris et vitta byacinthina cælum monstrant.

ftones, are the two hemispheres, whereof one is above and the other below the earth. The girdle is the ocean. The rational (or breast-plate) the earth. The general result is described by S. Jerome as being this, that God's high-priest bearing upon his vestments the typical representation of all created things, should show how all creatures stand in need of the mercy of God, and that, in facrisicing unto Him, expiation might be for the state of the entire universe, and that he might pray, both by voice and by the dress he bare, not for children, and parents, and kinsmen only, but for all creation.³³ He then proceeds as follows:—

I have now touched upon the exposition of these things given by the Jews, and while referving for another opportunity an infinite number of mystical meanings, have laid something of a foundation for the building that is to be.29 . . . We read in Leviticus that, according to God's commandment, Moses washed Aaron and his sons. So even at that early time there were facramental acts fignifying the purifying of the world and of all created things, and the fanctity of baptism. They receive not their robes till they have washed off the filth of the flesh, nor are they adorned for holy rites, except they be born again as new men in Christ. For new wine is put in new bottles (utribus - ἄσποις). And in that it is Moses who washeth them, this pointeth to the law, "They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them," and, "From Adam even unto Moses all finned." It is by God's commandments that we are to be washed clean, and when, being made ready for the garment of Christ, we shall have laid aside our garments made of skins,30 then shall we be clad in the linen robe which hath in it nothing which is of death, but is wholly bright and pure,31 that fo rifing up from our baptism we may gird up our loins with truth and all the deformity of former fins be put out of fight. Whence also David saith, "Bleffed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered." After the drawers and the linen tunic, we put upon us a vestment of blue,32 and begin to mount up from things on earth to things above. This very tunic of blue is called by the Seventy ὑποδύτης, that is, "undergarment," and belongs properly to the high-prieft; and it fignifieth that the meaning of the higher things of God lies not open to all, but only to those somewhat advanced in the Christian life, or who

³³ Compare the paffage of Philo to the same effect, given above, p. 8.

atque perfectis.34 Hanc habuerunt Moyses et Aaron et Prophetæ, et omnes quibus dicitur: In montem excelfum ascende tu, qui evangelizas Sion. Nec sufficit nobis priorum ablutio peccatorum, baptismi gratia, doctrina fecretior, nisi habuerimus et opera. Unde jungitur et Ephod, id est, Superhumerale,35 quod Rationali copulatur: ut non sit laxum, neque dissolutum, sed hæreant sibi invicem et auxilio sint. Ratio 36 enim operibus, et opera ratione indigent : ut quod mente percipimus, opere perpetremus. Duoque lapides in Superhumerali, vel Christum significant et Ecclesiam, duodecim Apostolorum, qui ad prædicationem missi sunt, nomina continentes: vel litteram et spiritum, in quibus continentur legis universa mysteria. In dextra spiritus, in læva littera est. Per litteras ad verba descendimus, per verba venimus ad sensum. Quàm pulcher ordo, et ex ipso habitu sacramenta demonstrans. In humeris opera funt, in pectore ratio.36 Unde et pectusculum comedunt facerdotes. Hoc autem Rationale duplex est, 37 apertum et absconditum, fimplex et mysticum, duodecim in se lapides habens, et quattuor ordines, quos quattuor puto esse virtutes, prudentiam, fortitudinem, justitiam et temperantiam, quæ sibi hærent invicem: et dum mutuo miscentur, duodenarium efficiunt numerum: vel quattuor Evangelia, quæ in Apocalypsi describuntur plena oculis, et Domini luce radiantia mundum illuminant. In uno quattuor, et in quattuor fingula. Unde δήλωσις et ἀλήθεια, id est, doctrina et veritas in pectore, 38 Sacerdotis est. Quum enim indutus quis fuerit veste multiplici, consequens est, veritatem quam corde retinet, sermone proferre: et ob id in rationali veritas est, id est, scientia, ut noverit quæ docenda sint: et manifestatio atque doctrina, ut possit instruere alios, quod mente concepit. Ubi funt qui innocentiam Sacerdoti dicunt posse sufficere? 39 Vetus lex novæ congruit: idipfum Moyfes quod Apostolus. Ille facerdotis scientiam ornat in vestibus: iste Timotheum et Titum instruit difciplinis. Sed et ipse vestimentorum ordo præcipuus. Legamus Levi-

³⁴ Majoribus atque perfectis. Majoribus has reference (as elsewhere to growth in years, so here) to growth in grace. For perfectus = τάλειος, 'full-grown,' see "Eirenika," note 68, p. 120.

³⁵ The shoulder and arm, he means, are naturally affociated with ideas of activity, and fo of good works.

³⁶ Ratio (Reason and Understanding) used in reference to "Rationale," the word used throughout for the λόγιον, the "breastplate" of our English Version.

³⁷ It was made duplex ne facile rumperetur, as he had faid above.

³⁸ To the Romans not the head but the breaft (or the beart) was the seat of the understanding. "Non tu corpus eras fine pectore." "Rudis et sine pectore miles."

have knowledge. As to the meaning of facerdos (bishop, as well as priest), see Index in voc.

have attained unto fulness of growth. With this garment were clad Mofes, and Aaron, and the prophets, and all they to whom that word is spoken, "Ascend up unto the lofty mountain, thou that bringest glad tidings to Sion." (Isa. xl. 9.) But the washing away of fins, the grace of baptifin, the more hidden knowledge, these are not fufficient for us, unless we have also (good) works, and therefore there is joined to those other vestments the ephod, that is, the "Superhumeral,"35 which again is fo coupled to the ("Rational") breastplate, that it may not be loose nor unattached, but that both may be closely joined and be a mutual help each to other. For reason 36 needeth works, and works need reason; that so what we mentally perceive we may by works carry out in act. And the two stones upon the ephod fignify, either Christ and the Church (as containing the names of the twelve apostles who were fent to the preaching of the Gospel), or the letter and the spirit, wherein are contained all the mysteries of the law. On the right is the fpirit; on the left is the letter. Through letters we reach unto words: through words we come to meaning. How beauteous is the order, showing forth facramental truths even by the very dress of which we fpeak. On the shoulders are (good) works: on the breast reason. For which cause the priests have the breast (of the facrifice) to eat. But this Rational is two-fold, 37 open and yet hidden; fimple, and yet myffical; having upon it twelve flones, and four rows, which I hold to be four virtues, viz. wifdom, courage, justice, temperance, which are closely united one unto the other, and by their mutual conjunction produce a duodecimal number. Or else they may be the four Gospels, which in the Apocalypse are described as full of eyes, and which, beaming with the light of the Lord, enlighten the whole world. In one, the four; and in the four each and all the separate parts. And, therefore, δήλωσις and ἀλήθεια, "manifestation" and "truth," are on the breast 38 of the priest. For when a man hath been clad in the manifold vesture, it followeth that he express in word the truth which he holdeth in his heart. And therefore in the Rational there is "truth," that is "knowledge," that he may know what is to be taught, and "manifestation" and "doctrine" that he may be able to instruct others of that which his own reason hath comprehended. Where are they that fay that it sufficeth for a priest 39 that he be of innocent life? The old law agreeth with the new; Moses was in the one, what the Apostle was in the other.

ticum. Non prius Rationale, et sic Superhumerale, sed ante Superhumerale, et deinceps Rationale. A mandatis tuis, inquit, intellexi: prius faciamus, et sic doceamus: ne doctrinæ auctoritas cassis operibus destruatur. Hoc est quod in Propheta legimus: Seminate vobis in justitia, et metite fructum vitæ: illuminate vobis lumen scientiæ. Primùm seminate in justitia, et fructum vitæ æternæ metite: postea vobis scientiam vindicate. Nec statim absoluta persectio est, si quis Superhumerale et Rationale habeat: 40 nissi hæc ipsa inter se forti compagine solidentur, et sibi invicem connexa sint: ut et operatio rationi et ratio operibus hæreat: et his præcedentibus, doctrina sequatur et veritas.

^{40 &}quot;Both ephod and breastplate," i.e. both good works and knowledge.

⁴¹ i.e. "Holiness unto the Lord." See above, Note 15.

⁴² i.e. 'the fign of the crofs traced upon the forebead in baptism, putting, as it were, Christ's mark thereon, and declaring the

newly-baptized to be "Holy unto the Lord."

⁴³ The fign of the cross carries our thoughts to the precious blood thereon shed, called by St. Paul, τὸ αῖμα τοῦ σταυροῦ.

⁴⁴ Quæ sequuntur de seminalibus apud ipsum requirant eruditi lectores. Virgineis Fabiolæ oculis parum apta videntur.

For Mofes deviseth "knowledge" among the vestments of the priests; Paul furnisheth Titus and Timothy with "Doctrine." But the very order of the vestments is noteworthy. Let us read Leviticus. It is not, first, the rational, and after that the ephod; but, first, the ephod, and afterward the rational. "From thy commandments," faith one, "have I got understanding." (Ps. cxix. 104.) Let doing be first in order with us, and so let us go on to teaching, lest the authority of our teaching be done away by the worthlessness of that we work. This is that we read in the Prophet (Hof. x. 12), "Sow your feed in righteousness, and reap the fruit of life; Kindle ye for you the light of knowledge." First sow in righteousness, and reap the fruit of life; afterward claim knowledge as your own. Yet fulness of Christian growth is not then at once completely attained when one hath both ephod and breastplate; unless these two be firmly compacted one unto the other, and in fuch wife mutually connected, that both our working of that which is good be close joined to reason, and reason close joined to works; and that, while these lead the way, doctrine and truth follow.

[He then defers further explanation concerning the twelve stones of the breastplate, saying that his letter is already too long, and adding a few further particulars, he says:]

A plate of gold glitters on the forehead, for learning the most universal is nothing worth unto us, unless we be crowned with the knowledge of God. We are clothed in linen, we are adorned with the vestments of celestial blue, we are girt about with the facred belt, works are given unto us, the rational is put upon our breast, we accept the truth, our words bring forth doctrine—all these together are impersect, unless for so fair an equipage a fitting guide be found, and the Creator, set on high above His creatures, Himself direct that which He hath made. What in old times was shown upon the golden plate is now set forth in the sign of the Cross. The gold of the law is less precious than the Blood of the Gospel. In those former times, according to that word of Ezekiel (Ezek. ix. 4), a mark was put upon the brow of them that mourned; but now we that bear the cross (upon our foreheads) say, "The light of thy countenance, O Lord, is signed upon us."

And now my discourse is drawing to a close, and I return to that of which I was speaking above. Such should be the knowledge

scientia et eruditio Pontificis 45 Dei, ut et gressus, et motus, et universa vocalia sint. Veritatem mente concipiat, et toto eam habitu resonet et ornatu: ut quidquid agit, quidquid loquitur, sit doctrina populorum. Absque tintinnabulis enim et diversis coloribus et gemmis sloribusque virtutum, nec Sancta ingredi potest, nec nomen Antistitis 46 possidere.

45 Pontificis. Pontifex is literally a "bridgemaker," yequeomoios, as the Greek writers fometimes translate it. And the following quotation will fuggest the origin of the term: "The Tiber was the natural highway for the traffic of Latium; and . . . formed from very ancient times the frontier defence of the Latin flock against their northern neighbours. . . . Rome combined the advantages of a ftrong position, and of immediate vicinity to the river; it commanded both banks of the stream down to the mouth. . . . That Rome was indebted accordingly, if not for its origin, at any rate for its importance, to these commercial and strategical advantages of its position, there are many indications to show. . . . Thence arose the unusual importance of the bridges over the Tiber, and of bridge-building generally, in the Roman commonwealth. Thence came the galley in the city arms." Mömmsen, Hiftory of Rome, book i. cap. iv. Bearing in mind how in ancient times all matters of grave import to the state were invested with the fanctions of religion, we shall not wonder to find the construction and care of these bridges placed under the superintendence of that College of Magistrates (not priess in our sense of the word) which from the very beginning of Roman history was supreme in all matters pertaining to religion. With this body of facerdotal "Bridgemakers," with the first citizen of the Republic, or, as in later times, an emperor, at their head (as Pontifex Maximus), we may compare our own "Trinity Board," with a prince of the blood as "Master." [The parallel might be extended, inexperto si fas ita dicere, in respect of the Pontificum cænæ and the Greenwich banquets.]

The Christian use of the term is owing mainly to St. Jerome's version of the Bible. From the 5th century onwards, the use of Pontisex as = sacerdos (Note 61), or bishop, and of Pontisex summus as = archbishop, or metropolitan, became very common. In earlier writers it is very rare; and in the older Italic version we find sacerdos or summus sacerdos where St. Jerome (writing at Rome) speaks of Pontisex, or Pontisex summus. [For the term Pontisex Maximus, which has a special meaning of its own, see Index of Notes.]

and the learning of one chief⁴⁵ in holy ministry to God, as that his walk and movement, and everything about him shall be vocal to the ears of men. With his mind let him embrace the truth, and in all his habit and adornment cause it to sound forth to others; that whatsoever he doeth, whatsoever he speaketh, may be for instruction unto all men. For without the bells, and the divers colours, and the gems, and the slowers of divers virtues, he can neither enter the Holy of Holies, nor make his own the name of one chief⁴⁶ among God's servants.

Phæbi, Ov.) and frequently in Christian literature of bishops. Hence, in later Latin, the forms antistitium = facerdotium, and antistitari = episcopum agere.

⁴⁶ Antistes (ante-stes — compare the Greek πεο-σπάτης), properly one in foremost place, and hence occasionally used by classical writers of heathen priests (facrorum antistes, Cic. and Juv. antistes fovis Nep. and the fem. antistita

V.

S. JEROME.

EPISTLE TO MARCELLA CONCERNING THE EPHOD WORN BY SAMUEL.

[WRITTEN AT ROME, A.D. 384.]

[Wishing to explain how it was that, while the "ephod" or fuperhumerale is properly a garment of the high-priest alone, we yet read of Samuel, and of the priests at Nob, wearing an ephod, and of David, in one place, doing likewise, he says that these ephods were of linen only, and white.]

"Propterea autem Samuel et octoginta quinque viri sacerdotes ephod lineum portasse referuntur, quoniam sacerdos magnus solus habebat licentiam ephod non-lineo vestiendi, verum, ut Scriptura commemorat, auro, byacintho, purpura, cocco, bysoque, contexto. Cæteri habebant ephod non illa varietate distinctum et duodecim lapidibus ornatum, qui in humero utroque residebant: sed lineum et simplex et toto candore purissimum."

"The reason why Samuel, and the eighty-five priests are said to have worn an ephod of linen, is this, that the high-priest alone had the right to wear an ephod made, not of linen, but, as the Scripture records, made of gold, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen. All the rest had an ephod, and varied in colour like to this, nor ornamented with the twelve stones of the breastplate, but of linen and unadorned, and most pure in the perfection of i brilliant whiteness."

⁴⁷ This difficulty about the ephod of David and of Samuel has often been noticed by modern writers. The folution of the difficulty is, no doubt, that which S. Jerome (as, nearer our own times, Lightfoot) fuggefts,

viz. that the term ephod was originally a general term for an upper garment of a peculiar shape: the ephod, peculiar to the high-priest, being distinguished from other ephods by its material, colour, and insignia.

VI.

S. JEROME.

ON EZEKIEL XLIV.

[Vot. III. 1028, fqq.]

[HE is commenting on the words that occur ver. 17, fqq.: which are as follows:

"When they enter the gates of the inner court, they shall be clothed with garments of linen: and nothing that is of wool shall come upon them when they minister at the gates of the inner court, and further within. Bands of linen shall be upon their heads, 48 and they shall have linen drawers upon their loins; they shall not gird themselves with that which causeth sweat. 49 And when they go forth out of the outer court unto the people they shall put off the garments 50 wherein they had ministered, and shall replace them in the treasuries of the sanctuary, and shall put on other garments, and they shall not sanctify the people with their ministering garments. But their heads they shall not shave, nor yet let their hair grow long; but they shall poll their heads; neither shall any priest drink wine when he is about to enter into the inner court."

Upon this he comments as follows:]

In the first place, I must explain the words here recorded. Among other precepts given by the Word of the Lord to the priests this is one, that at the very gates of the inner court they shall put

is reproduced, in the use of stola, first in the Latin versions, and secondly in the early Christian writers. From the usage here noticed, two others require to be distinguished: (γ) the classical use, according to which stola was particularly used of the long robe, edged with the institut, characteristic of the Roman matron; and (δ) the later Christian usage, discussed in the Introduction, according to which stola, like our own "stole," is the equivalent of orarium.

⁴⁹ S. Jerome here gives as an alternative rendering, "They shall have linen caps (cidares) upon their heads."

⁴⁹ Here, too, as an alternative rendering (for in sudore) violenter.

is used either (α) as a generic term for the entire verture of the prieft, confidered as a whole, or (β) (generally in the plural $\sigma\sigma \delta \lambda \alpha$) of particular vertments spoken of as portions of that whole. And this double use of $\sigma\sigma \delta \lambda \lambda$

on garments, that is, facred robes, of linen, and use no under garments of wool, either in the gates of the inner court, or yet farther within, that is in the Holy and the Most Holy Place; and, again, that bands, or caps of linen, be on their heads, and linen drawers upon their loins. . . . And as he had once already prescribed what vestments were to be worn by the priests when engaged in their ministries within, he now again enjoins that when they go forth they shall put off their former vestments in the treasuries or side-chambers of the Holy Place, and put on others; left by retaining the holy garments they should fanctify the people who stand without, who have not as yet been fanctified, nor made themselves ready for the fanctification of the Temple, so as to be Nazarites unto the Lord. 51 By all this we learn that we, too, ought not to enter into the Holy of Holies in our every-day garments, just such as we please, when they have become defiled from the use of ordinary life, but with a clean conscience, and in clean garments, hold in our hands the Sacraments of the Lord. 51 As for what follows, "Their heads they shall not shave, nor suffer their locks to grow long, but polling they shall poll their heads," by this it is clearly shown that we ought not to have shaven heads like the priefts and worshippers of Isis and Serapis, nor yet, on the other hand, to wear long, flowing hair, which is for the luxurious only, for barbarians or men of the fword; but in fuch wife that the feemly habit of priests may be set forth in our very outward features. But in place of what I have quoted, the LXX. fay, "Their heads they shall not shave, and their hair they shall not closely poll, but a covering shall they have upon their heads." And according to this we learn that we are not to make a baldness upon our heads with a razor, nor to cut the hair of the head fo closely 52 that we shall look as though we were shaved, but to let the hair grow long enough to cover the skin. Or it may be simply that priefts ought always to put a covering on their heads, according to that line of Virgil, "With purple amice covered o'er, veil thou thy locks." But this is a forced interpretation. But wine is not to be drunk by priests and Levites, and this not only in the time of their

⁵¹ The original is as follows: Per quæ difcimus non quotidianis et quibuslibet pro ufu vitæ communis pollutis vestibus, nos ingredi debere in Santia Santiorum, sed munda conscientia et mundis vestibus tenere Domini sacramenta.

⁵² Note this passage as proving clearly that in St. Jerome's time, "the tonsure" was, a Rome, at any rate, unknown as a mark of the Christian priest.

ministration, but even (beforehand) when they are about to enter into the Holy of Holies, lest the mind become oppressed, and the fenses dulled. Hence that of the Apostle,-" It is good," saith he, "not to drink wine nor to eat flesh." And in another place: "And wine, wherein is excess." "For the people did eat, and drink, and rose up to play." (I Cor. x. 7.) And for that of his allowing Timothy to drink a little wine, he showed plainly why he allowed this. "For thy stomach's sake," he says, "and for thine often infirmities." Garments of linen are used by the Egyptian priests, not only inside their temples, but without also. 53 Moreover, the religion that is of God has one drefs for holy ministry, another for the usage of common life.53 Drawers (of linen) are rightly put on, that feemliness and propriety may be maintained, left when they ascend the steps of the altar (Exod. xx. 26), and hasten to and fro in the work of their ministry there be any unseemly exposure. Heathen superstition has its shaven heads. But as far as my knowledge goes, I do not think that any heathen abstains from wine.

The spiritual meaning of all this will be seen by what follows. That there are garments holy and spiritual the Apostle himself teaches us, saying, "Put ye on" ("clothe yourselves with") "the Lord Jesus Christ." And elsewhere, "Put ye on bowels of mercy, of goodness, of humility, of gentleness, of patience." And again, "Having stripped off the old man, together with his deeds, and having put on the new man which is renewed unto (fulness of) knowledge after the likeness of the Greator." [He then quotes I Cor. xv. 54, saying that this, too, appears to him to have a similar reference.] As to the priestly vestments there is a full account in Exodus, and I myself once wrote a book on the subject, to which and the interpretation there given the enquiring reader may be referred. For the subject is too wide a one to be embraced within the compass of a short discourse. These vestments we make for ourselves by our own exertion, even such a garment (tunicam) as the Lord had, and which could not be rent.

⁵³ The original is as follows: Porro religio divina alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitaque communi. It is doubtful whether, by religio divina, St. Jerome refers to Jewish or to Christian observances. The reference to the feminalia linea that immediately follows seems to show that Sirmondus (quoted later in this work) was right in

fupposing him to speak here of Jewish obfervances. Most writers on ritual, quoting the passage without its context, have assumed the exact contrary, as though there were no doubt at all about the matter. [As a matter of controversy it matters little which of the two be really referred to, or whether both, as I believe.]

And these vestments we put on when we come to the knowledge of the fecret and hidden things of God, and have that spirit that fearcheth even the deep and profound things of God, things not to be fet forth before the people, nor brought before the eyes of them that are not fanctified, nor made ready for the holiness of the Lord; left haply if they hear things beyond their capacity, they be unable to endure the greatness of such knowledge, and be choked, as it were, with this "frong meat," whereas they had need fill to be fed with milk. . . . As for that which follows, "Bands (vittæ) or caps (cidares) of linen shall be on their heads," this, I think, points to the festive crown of grace, of which it is written (Prov. iv. 9), "A crown54 of grace shall be set on thine head." Nor need we find difficulty in those words of the Apostle concerning the covering, or the leaving bare, the head. "A woman," he faith, "ought to have a covering upon her head because of the angels. For if a woman will not be thus covered, then let her cut close her hair. But if it be a shame unto a woman that her hair be close cut or shorn, then let her cover (her head). For the man ought not to cover his head, seeing he is the image and glory of God. But the woman is the glory of the man (or "of her husband.") For if it be not proper for men to cover the head, it might be thought inconsistent with this that the priefts are here bidden to cover their heads with caps or bonnets. But if we read fomewhat more carefully, the words that preceded will folve the difficulty of those now before us. For it is faid above, "When they minister in the gates of the inner court and yet farther within" (i.e. in the Holy Place.) For if we enter in to the Holy Place and stand before the face of the Lord, we ought to cover our heads:55 "For in the fight of the Lord shall no flesh living be justified." (Ps. cxlii. 2.) And, "Even from a child man's heart is set upon

¹⁶⁴ Coronam enim gratiarum suscipiet tuus wertex. It is hardly necessary, probably, to point out that our modern word "crown," is generally suggestive (in the English version of the Bible, for example) of an entirely different idea to that suggested to classical readers by corona, or by the corresponding Greek word στέφανος. In classical, and in early Christian usage, these words are expressive of the chaples (of whatever materials) worn by persons of all classes on sessions, worn by priests (and priestesses) in honour of particular deities,

by victors in the circus or the like, or by triumphant foldiers. The distinctive word for the crown of royalty is διάδημω (diadema). But it may be well to mention that in later Christian writers, as we shall see as we proceed, the word corona is occasionally used, as our own "crown," with reference to insignia of royalty.

^{55 &}quot;We ought to cover our heads," i.e. in felf-abafement, as confcious of our own un-avorthiness, of which he proceeds to speak.

wickedness." (Gen. viii. 21.) Then, lastly, we wear inwardly a vesture about our loins, lest, in the presence of God, aught of unseemliness appear, belonging to a polluted conscience, or to that which pertaineth unto married life. With such under-garments the Saviour would have His Apostles girt when He saith, "Let your loins be girded, and burning lights be in your hands." (Luke, xii. 35.) And the Apostle saith unto the saithful, "Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about in truth." (Eph. vi. 14.) And to the followers of Christ doth that apply which is written concerning Christ Himself, "Righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and with the truth shall his sides be clothed." (Isa. xi. 5.) And with this girdle that is here spoken of, he that is holy, and hath attained unto the height (culmen) of all virtue, doth not bind himself "violently." 56

⁵⁶ See above, note 49.

VII.

S. JEROME.

WHITE GARMENTS WORN IN OFFICES OF CHRISTIAN MINISTRATION.

Adversus Pelagianos, Lib. 1. Vol. IV. p. 502.

[After speaking of the pretences made by the Pelagians to something approaching to a direct revelation of Divine Truth, he adds]:—

" Nec hoc sufficit, sed repente mutaris in Stoicum, et de Zenonis nobis tonas supercilio, Christianum illius debere esse patientiæ ut si quis sua auferre voluerit gratanter amittat. Nonne nobis satis est patienter perdere quod habemus, nisi violento atque raptori agamus gratias, et cum cunctis benedictionibus prosequamur? Docet Evangelium ei qui nobiscum velit iudicio contendere, et per lites ac jurgia auferre tunicam, etiam pallium esse concedendum: non præcipit ut agamus gratias, et læti nostra perdamus. Hoc dico, non quod aliquid sceleris in hac sententia sit, sed quod ubique ὑπερβολικῶς mediocria transeas et magna secteris. Unde adjungis gloriam vestium et ornamentorum Deo esse contrariam. Quæ sunt, rogo, inimicitiæ contra Deum si tunicam habuero mundiorem: 57 si Episcopus, Presbyter, et Diaconus, et reliquus ordo Ecclesiasticus, in administratione sacrificiorum candida veste processerint? Cavete Clerici, cavete Monachi: viduæ et virgines periclitamini, nisi sordidas vos atque pannosas vulgus aspexerit. Taceo de hominibus sæculi quibus aperte bellum indicitur, et inimicitiæ contra Deum si preciosis atque nitentibus utantur exuviis."

"Even this does not content you. You turn stoic of a sudden, and thunder against us with all the sternness of a Zeno, and declare that a Christian should be so patient as to rejoice in losing whatsoever any man may choose to take from him. Is it not enough, then, for us to submi

bright and pure. So Livy speaks of a cultus justo mundior—an over-elegance of personal attire.

⁵⁷ Mundiorem. Mundus as applied to clothing has a primary reference to cleanlines, but is often used with a secondary implication of the seemly beauty that belongs to garments

patiently to loss of what is ours, unless we thank him who with violence has robbed us, and follow him with every expression of blessing? The Gospel teaches, it is true, that to one who would contend with us at law, and rob us of our under garment we should give up our outer garment also, but it bids us not express gratitude to the wrongdoer, and show gladness at the loss of our goods. I mention this, not as though there were anything criminal in your holding fuch an opinion, but because in everything alike you are actuated by the same spirit of exaggeration, and without thought or regard for any moderate course, are ever aiming at great things. Hence you go on to fay that all splendour of dress or ornament is offensive unto God. But I would fain know what offence there would be against God in my wearing a fomewhat handsome 57 tunic; or if, in the administration of the Holy Things, Bishop, Priest, and Deacon, and the other officers of the Church, come forward dressed in white garments. Beware ye that are of the Clergy, beware ye Monks: and you too, widows and virgins, are in peril, unless you appear in public in squalid habit and in rags. I fay nothing of men of the world, against whom war is thus openly proclaimed, and who are accused as enemies of God if they wear coftly or fplendid garments."

VIII.

HEGESIPPVS.58

LINEN VESTMENTS SAID TO HAVE BEEN WORN BY JAMES THE BROTHER OF THE LORD.

APUD S. HIERONYMUM, IN CATALOGO SCRIPT. ECCLES.

JACOBUS qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus, ut nonnulli existimant Joseph ex alia uxore, ut autem mihi videtur Mariæ fororis matris Domini, cujus Johannes in libro fuo meminit, filius, post passionem Domini statim ab Apostolis Ierosolymorum Episcopus ordinatus, unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quæ de septem Catholicis eft, quæ et ipfa ab alio quodam fub nomine ejus edita afferitur: licet paullatim tempore præcedente obtinuerit auctoritatem. Hegefippus, vicinus Apostolicorum temporum, in quinto commentariorum libro de Jacobo narrans ait: Suscepit ecclesiam Ierosolymorum post Apostolos frater Domini Jacobus, cognomento Justus. Multi siquidem Jacobi vocabantur. Hic de utero matris sanctus fuit, vinum et siceram non bibit, carnem nullam comedit, nunquam attonsus est nec unctus unguento, nec usus balneo. Huic soli licitum erat ingredi Sancta Sanctorum. Siquidem vestibus lineis non utebatur sed lineis, solusque ingrediebatur Templum, et flexis genibus pro populo deprecabatur: intantum ut camelorum duritiem traxisse ejus genua crederentur.

"The government of the Church of Jerusalem was committed, after the Apostles, to James, the brother of the Lord, surnamed "The Just," there being many then who bore the name of James. He was holy from his mother's womb: he drank neither wine nor strong drink, ate no slesh-meat, never cut close the hair of his head, nor anointed himself with unguents, nor used the bath. To him alone was it allowable to enter the Holy of Holies, seeing that he wore garments made, not of wool, but of linen; and he was wont to enter

⁵⁸ Hegefippus, a Jew converted to Christianity, died circa A.D. 180. Only fragments of his works have been preferred.

the Temple alone, and on bended knees to entreat God on behalf of His people; infomuch that men believed that his knees had grown hard, even as are the knees of a camel."59

59 In judging of the historical references to be drawn from this statement we must remember, first, that we have not the ipsissima verba of Hegesippus, but a Latin translation of his words by S. Jerome. We cannot, therefore, now tell whether the Santia Santiorum of S. Jerome represents τὰ ἄγια fimply (which might mean only "the Sanctuary," as a somewhat vague designation), or ἄγια ἀγίων, which could only mean "The Most Holy Place," entered once in the year by the high-priest alone.

And so again of that "Templum ingrediebatur," we cannot now say whether the original spoke of τὸν ναὸν, or of τὸ ἱερόν. The former would imply the actual building (made up of "the Holy" and "the Most Holy" Place). The latter term includes the whole sacred enclosure, with its many subordinate buildings.

However this be, it would be contrary to all historical probability that St. James, the head of the Christian Church at Jerusalem, and not of Levitical descent, should have been allowed, as a literal matter of fact, to enter the "Holy of Holies" of the Jewish temple. The real explanation of this, as of some other similar passages which will be quoted, I believe to be this,that fome early writers, who were themsclves thoroughly converfant with the fignificance of the infignia of priesthood and of royalty among the Jews, used, occasionally, expressions in fpeaking of Apostles and others, which would be φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν, fuggestive of important truths to men as well informed as themselves, but which could only lead to error if taken as literal statements of historical fact. Compare the passage from Epiphanius, quoted below, p. 40, and Note 62 upon that passage.

IX.

POLYCRATES, 60 OF EPHESVS.

OF THE GOLDEN PLATE WORN BY ST. JOHN.

APUD EUSEBIUM. HIST. ECCL. V. 24.

Eusebius is speaking of the dispute between Victor, Bishop of Rome, and certain Eastern Bishops, concerning the proper time of the Easter Festival. As to this the traditionary usage of the Churches in Asia Minor differed from that of other Churches. And Polycrates of Ephefus, who held first place among the Bishops of Asia Minor, wrote as follows "to Bishop Victor and the Roman Church":-

. . . Ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀξαδιούςγητον ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέςαν, μήτε πεοστίθεντες μήτε άφαιεούμενοι. Καὶ γάς κατά τὴν ᾿Ασίαν μεγάλα στοιχεῖα κεκοίμηται ἄτινα άναστήσεται τῆ ἡμέρα τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου ἐν ἦ ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης ἐξ οὐεανῶν, και ἀναστήσει πάντας τοὺς ἀγίους, Φίλιππον τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων ὅς πεποίμηται ἐν Ἱεραπόλει, καὶ δύο θυγάτερες αὐτοῦ γεγηρακυῖαι παρθένοι. Καὶ ἡ έτερα αὐτοῦ θυγάτης ἐν ᾿Αγίω Πιεύματι πολιτευσαμένη ἐν Ἐφέσω ἀναπαύεται, έτι δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναπεσών ὅς ἐγενήθη ἰερεύς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκώς και μάρτυς και διδάσκαλος, οδτος έν Ἐφέσω κεκοίμηται.

Then follows an enumeration of other bishops of renown and martyrs whom Polycrates alleges as having all adhered to the fame tradition in this matter.

"For our own part we observe the day with scrupulous exactness, neither adding nor taking away. In Afia great luminaries of the Church have been gathered to their rest, who shall rise again in the day of the Lord's coming, when He cometh with glory from heaven, and shall raise up all the faints, such as were Philip, one of the twelve, who now is at rest in Hierapolis; and his two daughters

Irenæus of Gaul and Victor of Rome (fed. A.D. 192 to A.D. 202), the date of this letter

⁶⁰ As Polycrates was contemporary with | is determined to the close of the second century.

who waxed old in virgin estate, while his other daughter, after a Christian life in the Holy Spirit, resteth now in Ephesus. Yea moreover, John also, he that reclined on the Lord's breast, and became a priest 61 wearing the golden plate, 62 and a Witness, and a Teacher, he, I say, now sleepeth in Ephesus."

- 61 As the terms isgads, and Sacerdos are used in a great variety of meanings in eccle-stastical writers, and as the ambiguity thence arising will frequently come under notice in the course of these extracts, it may be well here briefly to enumerate those meanings, and to designate each by a separate (Greek) letter for facility of reference. The two words then (which may be regarded as equivalent) are used,—
- α. Of the Jewish high-priest. [So δ iεφεὺς not unfrequently in LXX.]
- B. Of Levitical priests of the second order.
- γ. Of the Levitical priefts generally, fo as to include both the high-prieft and the priefts of the fecond order.
- d. Of our Lord Jesus Christ. [So in Heb. v. 6; vii. 21; x. 21.]
 - s. Of Christian bishops.
 - s. Of Christian presbyters, or priests.

What is here briefly stated will be shown more at length with regard to Sacerdos in a subsequent note (See Index in voc.), in the extract from Pope Celestine's Letter to the Bishops of Gaul. [I shall refer, whenever necessary, to the various modifications of meaning above enumerated, by the number of the Note prefixed to the various letters. Thus 62 & will indicate a reference to the Jewish high-priest, 62 s to Christian bishops, and so for the rest. But it must be understood that it is only by context that we can determine

which of the above meanings was present to the mind of the writer in any given passage. And my references therefore are only to be regarded as expressions of opinion sounded upon study of such context,

62 I quote both the context and the words of the original text, that the reader may judge for himfelf what is their true meaning. The word iseeds by itself is ambiguous, and may mean either a high-priest or a priest of the fecond order, as context may fuggest. But, as the distinctive mark of a high-priest was the πέταλον, or plate of gold, marking his fupreme authority, or "royal priefthood," Polycrates uses here the descriptive expression, "a priest that had worn the rirador" (much as ecclefiaftical historians speak of a "mitred abbot"), in order to bring out the fact on which he was then concerned to infift, viz., the supreme Apostolic authority of St. John, whose office in the Christian Church was to bear rule in spiritual things over the spiritual Ifrael, even as the high-priest of old over Israel after the flesh. For this last compare the passage from Epiphanius that follows (p. 40.) I may observe that the explanation above given will at once account for the very peculiar use of the participle of the præsens perfectum, πεφοerzus. The proper connotation of that participle is (fee Eirenica, Notes 49, 52, and 61) that of a state or condition refulting from a past act. And this idea (flightly modified by the peculiarities of this exceptional context) is exactly coincident with the explanation above fuggested.

X.

EPIPHANIVS.63

BISHOP OF SALAMIS, A.D. 367 TO A.D. 403.

ADV. HÆS. LIB. 1. CAP. 29.

THE writer has been speaking of the prophecies concerning One who should "fit on the throne of David." These prophecies, he adds, must needs have their fulfilment, seeing that no declaration of Holy Scripture faileth of accomplishment. He proceeds as follows]:-

By the "throne of David," and by the "fitting as a king," is meant the office of priesthood in God's Holy Church, which is a rank at once of royalty and of supreme priesthood, together conjoined of Christ, which He hath bestowed upon His holy Church, removing and placing in that His Church the throne of David, which abideth for ever. Now, when the feat of kingly power had thus been transferred in Christ to the Church, the royal dignity was likewife transferred from the family of that Judah that was after the flesh, and from the Jerusalem that once was. And now the throne is fet in God's Holy Church, and that for ever, having two titles to this dignity, in respect of kingship the one, in respect of supreme priesthood the other. It is a throne of royalty first, by inheritance from Christ Jesus our Lord: and this after two manners, because of His being of the feed of David the king, by natural descent, and as being what indeed He is, a greater King, from all eternity, in respect of His Godhead. It is a throne, too, of priesthood, because he is himself a high-priest, and first in rank in a line of high-priests, seeing that James (called the brother of the Lord, and apostle) was straight-

⁶³ Epiphanius, furnamed δ πεντάγλωσσος, as being acquainted with five languages, was born in Palestine of Jewish parents. He was chosen bishop of the Metropolitan See of "Catalogus Illustrium Virorum."

Constantia (formerly Salamis) in Crete, A.D. 367. The passage here given is quoted, or rather referred to, by St. Jerome in his

way established as bishop, and he again was, by birth, the eldest son of Joseph, but, in regard of rank, was called brother of the Lord, because of their association one with the other.

For this James was a fon of Joseph, begotten of Joseph's (first) wife, not of Mary (the mother of the Lord), as I have already often said, and clearly proved. Moreover, we find that he was of the seed of David, as being Joseph's son, and became a Nazarene. For he was Joseph's first-born and consecrated unto God. Beside this, I find that he exercised priestly office, 4 after the manner of the ancient priesthood, and for this reason was allowed to enter the Holy of Holies once in every year, as the law according to Scripture bade the high-priests do. For so many before me have recorded of him, such as were Eusebius, Clement, and others. Moreover, it was allowable for him to wear the golden plate upon his head, as is testified by the afore-mentioned trustworthy writers.65

65 It will be seen that the general scope of this passage is to prove the applicability to our Lord of the prophecies concerning One who should sit on the throne of David for ever. This

was fo, he argues, in respect both of the Kingship of Christ, and in respect of His Priesthood. And all that he fays of James is brought in by way of showing how the fact of his relationship, as half-brother in the eye of the law, to our Lord, pointed him out as having a claim, as nearest of kin, to preside (reign, as it were) over the Church at Jerufalem immediately after our Lord Himfelf had afcended into heaven. His argument is based upon the fact (familiar to him as originally a Jew) that the offices both of the highpriest and of the Rosh Abboth, or head of the Sanhedrim (= the Greek πατριάρχης), were regarded by the Jews as hereditary, and paffing, therefore, in default of direct heirs to the nearest of kin.

⁶⁴ The original is as follows: Ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἱερατεύσαντα αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἱερωσύνην εὔρομεν, διὸ καὶ ἠφίετο αὐτῷ ἄπαζ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰς τὰ ἄγια τῶν ὡγίων εἰσιέναι, ὡς τοῖς ὡρχιε-ρεῦσιν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ νόμος κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον. οὔτω γὰρ ἱστόρισαν πολλοὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ Εὐσίβιος τε καὶ Κλήμης καὶ ἄλλοι. ᾿Αλλὰ καὶ τὸ πέταλον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐζῆν αὐτῷ Φρεῖν καθὰς οἱ προιερημένοι ἀζιόπιστοι ἀνδρες ἐν τοῖς ὑπὰ ἀὐτῶν ὑπομνηματισμοῖς ἐμαρτύρησαν. In referring to "Eufebius," he no doubt has in view the letter of Bifhop Polycrates preferved by Eufebius, and quoted above, p. 38.

XI.

THEODORET.66

THE SACRED ROBE SENT BY CONSTANTINE TO MACARIUS OF JERUSALEM.

[Eccles. Hist. Lib. II. CAP. XXIII.]

Κωνστάντιος γὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέςας ἐπανελθών ἐν ταύτη διέτειβε. Πολλά δὲ τῶν συνεληλυθότων ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως (ὁ ᾿Ακάκιος) κατηγοςάσας καὶ σύστημα πονηςῶν ἀνθςώπων ἀποκαλέσας ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθςῳ καὶ λύμη τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν συγκςοτούμενον, τὸν βασιλέως ἄνηψε θυμόν. Οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ αὐτὸν χαλεπῆναι πεποίηκεν ἄ κατὰ τοῦ Κυςίλλου συντέθεικε. Τὴν γὰς ἰεςὰν στολὴν ἢν ὁ πανεύφημος Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἱεςοσυλύμων ἐκκλησίαν γεςαίςων δεδώκει τῷ Μακαςίᾳ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἀςχιεςεῖ, ἵνα ταύτην πεςιβαλλόμενος τὴν τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος ἐπιτελῆ λειτουςγίαν, ἐκ χςυσῶν δὲ αὐτη κατεσκεύαστο νημάτων, πεπςακέναι τὸν Κυςιλλον ἔφη, καὶ ταύτην τινα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς θυμέλης λυγιζομένων πεςιβαλέσθαι μὲν, ὀςχούμενον δὲ πεσεῖν καὶ συνθλιβῆνωι καὶ θανάτᾳ παςαδοθῆναι.

"Constantius, after his return from the West, continued for some time in this city (Constantinople). Acacius brought many accusations to the Emperor against the bishops who had affembled at Seleucia, abusing them as a pack of mischievous men got together for the ruin and destruction of the Churches, and so excited him to anger against them. What more than all excited his indignation was the charge which Acacius devised against Cyril (Bishop of Jerusalem). The Emperor Constantine, of samous memory, as a mark of honour to the Church at Jerusalem, had sent to Macarius, then bishop of that city, a facred robe, made of threads of gold, which he should put upon him when performing the office of holy baptism. This robe Acacius

Theodoret, born at Antioch, circa AD. and S. Chrysostom; became Bishop of Cyrus 393, studied under Theodore of Mopsuestia in Syria, A.D. 420; died A.D. 457.

declared had been fold by Cyril, and that a stage-dancer had bought it and put it on, but that, in dancing, he fell and received injuries which proved fatal." 67

67 I have quoted the above passage, because the fact of a "facred vestment" being given to Macarius of Jerusalem is one which is often referred to by writers on ecclesiastical vestments. What really follows from the above passage is that Constantine thought that a splendid robe of some kind might properly be worn by a patriarch at the Office of Holy Baptism. What was the nature of the robe does not appear. But it is evident that whether the

story of Cyril's having fold it be true or no, it was one of which, with at least a show of probability, it could be said that it had been purchased by a stage-dancer, and by him worn in public exhibitions. As to the apostolic origin of the so-called "facerdotal vestments," the story proves nothing at all, but if anything, goes to prove their imperial and secular origin.

XII.

ST. AUGUSTINE 68 OF HIPPO. ON THE LEVITICAL VESTMENTS.

QUÆSTIONES IN HEPTATEUCHUM, LIB. II. CAP. CXXIX.

In this chapter he has occasion to notice the dress of the high-priest as a whole, and also special portions of it, as the $\lambda \delta \gamma \iota \upsilon \upsilon$, or rationale, and the lamina aurea. In all these he sees a mystical reference to Christ or to sacraments of the Church, but does not even in the slightest way allude to any corresponding vestments worn in offices of Christian ministry. The concluding words of the chapter are the following:—

Quod autem præfiguratum est in sancto sanctorum, ut super arcam quæ Legem habebat esset propitiatorium, ubi Dei misericordia significari intelligenda est, qua propitius sit eorum peccatis qui Legem non implent; hoc mihi videtur etiam in ipsa veste sacerdotis 69 significari: nam et ipsa quid aliud quam Ecclesiæ sacramenta significat? Quod in λογίω, id est Rationali, in pectore sacerdotis 69 posito, judicia constituit, in lamina vero sanctissicationem et ablationem peccatorum: tanquam Rationale sit in pectore simile arcæ in qua Lex erat, et lamina illa in fronte similis propitiatorio quod super arcam erat, et ut utrobique servaretur quod scriptum est, superexultat misericordia judicio. (Jac. ii. 13.)

⁶⁶ Bishop of Hippo, 365; died A.D. 450.
69 Sacerdos throughout this passage is used, high-priest. See above Note 61 α.

XIII.

POPE CELESTINE.70

ON EPISCOPAL DRESS.

[The letter from which extracts are here given, will be found in Labbé's "Concilia," vol. ii. p. 1618. It is addressed "To all the Bishops of the Provinces of Vienna and Narbonne."]

"We have been informed that certain priests 71 of the Lord are devoting themselves rather to superstitious observances in dress than to purity of thought and of faith. But it is not to be wondered at that the customs of the Church should be broken by men who have not grown up in the Church, but coming in by another way, have introduced with them into the Church what had been theirs in another 72 mode of life. By dreffing in a pallium 73 and wearing a girdle 74 round their loins, they think to fulfil the truth of Scripture, not in the spirit but in the letter. But if the precepts to which they refer were for this end given, that after this strange fashion they should be observed, why are not the precepts which follow observed in like manner, and fo 'burning lights' held in the hands as well as 'a staff?' The words they quote have a mystical meaning of their own, and to men of understanding are so clear as to be observed according to a more fitting interpretation. For by the girding up of the loins is fignified Chastity, and by the staff Pastoral Rule, and by 'burning lights' the brightnefs of good works, concerning which it is faid (Matt. v. 16), 'Let your works shine.' But supposing it fo to be, that men dwelling in remote districts, and far from others, wear this dress, out of custom rather than of reason, yet whence fuch a dress in the Churches of Gaul? And why is the custom, observed for so many years, and by such great bishops, to be difcarded for another garb? We should be distinguished from the common folk, and from the rest, by our learning, not by our gar-

⁷⁰ Bishop of Rome from November, 423, to April, 432.

ments; by our mode of life, not by what we wear; by purity of thought, not by peculiarities of dress. For if we begin to affect innovations, we shall tread under foot the traditions of our fathers, only to make room for worthless superstitions. We ought not, therefore, to attract to objects such as these the untrained minds of the faithful. It is teaching they require, not mockeries like these. Nor is it an imposing appearance to the eye that is needed, but precepts to be instilled into the mind."

The original is as follows:-

Didicimus quosdam Domini sacerdotes 71 superstitioso potius cultui inservire quam mentis vel sidei puritati. Sed non mirum si contra ecclesiasticum morem faciunt qui in ecclesia non creverunt, sed alio venientes itinere secum hæc in ecclesiam quæ in alia conversatione 72 habuerant, intulerunt. Amieti pallio, 73 et lumbos præcineti, 74 credunt se scripturæ sidem non per

71 Sacerdotes Domini. I have translated the word Sacerdos by priest for want of a better word. In point of fact, however, this term, when employed in a Christian sente, is in early writers used far more frequently of bishops than of priests,—not unfrequently of bishops and priests inclusively—and is seldom if ever used as the distinctive appellation of the second order of the Christian ministry.

St. Gregory always (as far as I have observed) uses Sacerdos as the equivalent of episcopus, facerdotium of Episcopus. So St. Gregory of Tours (De Gloria Episc. cap. cx. p. 989), Venerable Bede, and others. Honorius of Autun (apud Ducange in voc.), lib. i. cap. 182; and Rhabanus Maurus de Instit. Cleric. cap. 5, p. 314; recognise the properly inclusive use of the term. Sacerdos autem vocari potest sive episcopus sit sive presbyter. In a letter of John of Ravenna to St. Gregory the Great, and in passages of Innocent III., quoted below, we shall come upon one or two instances in which it is clear from the context that Sacerdos is used as a designation of a presbyter. Compare Note 61.

72 In alia conversatione. He means, probably, "while living under monastic rule," (fee the next Note). Several inftances are alluded to in early writers of monks who retained their monastic habit after promotion to episcopal dignity. A well-known instance is that of Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspa. Orario quidem sicut omnes episcopi nullatenus utebatur. Pelliceo cingulo tanquam monachus utebatur.
. . . Cafulam pretiofam vel fuperbi coloris nec monachos fuos habere permifit, nec ipfe habuit. Subtus cafulam nigello vel laetineo pallio circumdatus incessit. Quando temperies aeris invitabat folo pallio intra monasterium est coopertus. Nec deposito saltem cingulo somnum petivit. In qua tunica dormiebat in eadem facrificabat. [Ferrandus Diaconus apud Thomassinum.]

73 AmiEti pallio. By pallium is here meant the coarse outer garment traditionally affociated in idea with the prophets of the old covenant, and adopted in early Christian times by hermits and monks (see next Note), and by others living a life of similar austerity. The word pallium occurs in a great variety of meanings in early writers. Several of these will come before us in the course of this work, and will be noticed in the order of their occurrence.

74 With this mention of pallium and cingulum as characteristic of a monastic dress, compare Salvianus (apud Thomassinum) ad Eccles. Cathol. lib. iv. Addressing a monk of unworthy character, he says: Licet religionem (i.e. monastic life) westibus simules, licet sidem cingulo afferas, licet sanctitatem pallio mentiaris, etc. The mention of a pelliceum cingulum (ζώνη δερματίνη) in the passage quoted in Note 72 is an indication that the dress of John the Baptist was taken as a type by the earlier monks. So S. Germanus (quoted later in this volume) more distinctly implies.

spiritum sed per literam completuros. Nam si ad hoc ista præcepta sunt ut taliter servarentur, cur non fiunt pariter quæ sequuntur, ut lucernæ ardentes in manibus una cum BACULO teneantur? Habent suum ista mysterium, et intelligentibus ita clara sunt ut ea magis qua decet significatione serventur. Nam in lumborum præcinetione castitas, in baculo regimen pastorale, in lucernis ardentibus boni fulgor operis, de quo dicitur, Opera vestra luceant, indicantur. Habeant tamen istum forsitan cultum, morem potius quam rationem sequentes, qui in remotioribus habitant locis, et procul a ceteris degunt. Unde hic habitus in ecclesiis Gallicanis, ut tot annorum tantorumque pontificum in alterum habitum conjuetudo vertatur? Discernendi a plebe vel ceteris sumus doctrina non veste, conversatione non habitu, mentis puritate non cultu. Nam si studere incipiamus novitati, traditum nobis a patribus ordinem calcabimus ut locum supervacuis superstitionibus faciamus. Rudes ergo fidelium mentes ad talia non debemus inducere. Docendi enim potius sunt quam illudendi. Nec imponendum est eorum oculis, sed mentibus infundenda præcepta sunt.

XIV.

JACOBUS SIRMONDUS.75

ON THE ORIGIN OF ECCLESIASTICAL VESTMENTS.

(From his Annotations on the Letter above quoted.)

[Having quoted a bishop of Rome I may be allowed here to add the comment of a learned Jesuit, Jacobus Sirmondus. He writes as follows:—]

Taxat Cælestinus episcopos quosdam qui novo et insueto habitus genere uterentur: docetque discerni ab aliis debere clericos non veste sed vita et moribus. Sunt qui habitum interpretentur quo incedebant:

⁷⁵ He was born A.D. 1559; was made Confessor to Louis XIII. in 1637; and died, at a great age, 1651.

alii ut Dionysius Exiguus, quo ministrabant. Quod non debeant, inquit, sacerdotes aut clerici amisti pallio et præcinsti lumbos in ecclesia ministrare. Sed res eodem relabitur. Nam primis ecclesiæ sæculis clerici quas in vita communi vestes usurpabant, iisdem etiam in sacris utebantur, fed mundioribus et optimis, id est, ut Hieronymus exponit in caput xliv. Ezechielis, non quotidianis et quibuslibet pro usu vitæ communi pollutis, sed mundis. Quod idem aliis verbis fignificat lib. i. contra Pelagianos, Pelagium exagitans. [Here he quotes the passage already given, p. 34]. Candidam enim vestem dicit Albam, quæ in usu tum erat more Romano, eamque nitidam et lautiorem, qualis prenfantium magiftratum, qui candidati propterea vocabantur. Et color igitur et forma vestium eadem principio fuit ecclesiasticis et reliquis. Sed cum formam alii postea mutassent, ecclesia prudenti confilio pristinam in facris retinuit: et ornatum licet preciumque ad venerationem vestibus sacris adjecerit, formam tamen non mutavit; ita ut Romanas vestes nunc etiam referant, Alba tunicam, cafula togam, nifi quod cafula feu planeta ancifis proavorum nostrorum memoria lateribus a togæ amplitudine abire cæpit. Et quia vetus hæc forma non perinde in quotidianis clericorum vestibus, ut in facris, retenta est, ex eo factum ut nunc in Ecclesia quod de veteri lege ad Ezechielem observarat S. Hieronymus, religio divina alterum habitum habeat in ministerio, alterum in usu vitaque communi. Quod ipfum quoque accidit in lingua Latina, qua Divina officia celebramus. Nam cum ea quondam in usu publico passim effet sub imperio Romano, eademque sacrorum in ecclesia vox effet, quæ populi; populus linguam, ut folet, postea mutavit, ecclesia Latinam merito retinuit.

XV.

ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM.76

OF THE LINEN STOLE AND THE WOOLLEN OMOPHORION.

Epist. Lib. 1. Cap. 136.

Ερμίνω Κόμητι.⁷⁷

"Οσον αὐτὸς ἄπληστος εἶ πρὸς τὴν μάθησιν τοσοῦτον ἐγὼ πρόθυμος πρὸς τὴν δήλωσιν, μόνον εἰ θεὸς δῷ ταῖς εὐχαῖς σου τὴν εὔρεσιν ἄνωθεν.

"Η δθόνη ⁷⁸ μέθ ής λειτουργούσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις οἱ διάκονοι τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναμιμνήσκει ταπείνωσιν, νίψαντος τοὺς πόδας τῶν μαθητῶν καὶ ἐκμάζαντος. Τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐπισκότου ἀμοφόριον ἐξ ἐρέας ὂν ἀλλ' οὐ λίνου τὴν τοῦ προβάτου δορὰν σημαίνει ὅπερ πλανηθὲν ζητήσας ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκείων ὤμων ἀνέλαβεν. 'Ο γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τύπον ὤν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἐκείνου πληροῖ, καὶ δείκνυσι πᾶσι διὰ τοῦ σχήματος ὅτι μιμητής ἐστι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ μεγάλου ποιμένος ὁ τὰς ἀσθενείας φέρειν τοῦ ποιμνίου προβεβλημένος. Καὶ προσχὲς ἀκριβῶς. "Ηνικα γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς ποιμὴν παραγένηται διὰ τῆς τῶν εὐαγγελίων τῶν προσκυνητῶν ἀναπτύζεως, ⁷⁹ καὶ ὑπανίσταται καὶ ἀποτίθεται τὸ σχήμα τῆς μιμήσεως ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, αὐτὸν δηλῶν παρεῖναι τὸν Κύριον, τὸν τῆς ποιμαντικῆς ἡγεμόνα, καὶ θεὸν, καὶ δεσπότην.

To Count Herminus.

"As thou art ever unwearied in learning, so am I ever ready to teach, if only God, in answer to thy prayers, grant me from above the finding of that thou seekest.

⁷⁶ Isidorus, gente Ægyptius, ortu forsan Alexandrinus, et Chrysosomi discipulus, claruit circ. ann. 412. Vitam egit monasticam circa Peleusium, ex septem Nili ostiis maximum. Cave, Hist. Lit. vol. i. p. 390.

⁷ Κόμης. One of the many Latin words (comes) which under the Empire were adopted into Greek, and thence again, in many cases, into the Eastern languages, with which that Greek was brought in contact. It is here

used probably of the governor of a province, in which sense somes is often used by the later Latin writers.

⁷⁸ ½ δδόνη. Taken by itself this word might imply a linen vestment of any kind, whether shaped like a maniple, or like a stole. But there is no trace of the maniple in the Eastern Church, and there is little doubt but that the vestment here spoken of resembled the Latin orarium,—our own "stole." So St.

"The linen veftment 78 with which the deacons minister in the Holy Place, is a memorial of the humility of our Lord, in washing, and wiping dry, the feet of the disciples. But that which the bishop weareth on his shoulders, made not of linen but of wool, signifieth the sleece of the sheep, for which, when it had wandered away, the Lord sought, and took it up on his own shoulders. For the bishop, being a type of Christ, suffilleth Christ's work, and by the habit he wears setteth forth unto all that he who is set to bear the infirmities of the flock is a follower of the good and great Shepherd. And this do thou note carefully. For when, by the unrolling 79 of the adorable Gospels, the true Shepherd Himself cometh nigh, the bishop riseth up to do Him honour, and layeth aside the habit of His semblance, showing that the Lord Himself is present, who is the chief Shepherd, and God, and Ruler over all."

Chrysoftom (or rather a sermon that bears his name), in the sermon on the Prodigal Son, speaks of the deacons as μιμούμενοι τὰς τῶν ἀγγέλων πτέρυγας ταῖς λεπταῖς ὀδόναις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἄμων πειμέναις, " presenting the semblance of angels' wings in the light vestments of linen which rested on their left shoulders." And with this agrees the reference made to the same ὀδόνη by S. Germanus

of Constantinople (quoted later in this volume).

To St. Isidore, writing early in the 5th century, the Gospels were probably still actually wolumina, "rolls," as we see them represented in the picture which forms the frontispiece to the present work. Comp. Luke, iv. 17, ἀναπτύζας τὸ βιβλίου.

XVI.

INCERTI AUCTORIS HOMILIA DE UNO LEGISLATORE S. CHRYSOSTOMI NOMINE INSCRIPTA. 80

THE LEVITICAL VESTMENTS.

[The writer is enlarging on those words of David, δ Κύςιος ἐβασίλευσεν (Ps. xcvi. 1), and on the parallel expression (Ps. xcii. 1), δ Κύςιος ἐβασιλευσεν εὐπρέπειαν ἐνεδύσατο. Commenting on these last words, "He clothed Himself with beauty," he proceeds as follows]:—

We men clothe ourselves outwardly with raiment, in order that we may hide whatever is unseemly in our nature. But for what end should God cover over His incorporeal nature, replete as it is with light, or rather itself the radiant source of light? But in truth He speaketh here of the body of Christ as itself the garment wherewith He is clothed. "The Lord is King: He hath put on beauteous apparel." By this beauty of which David speaks he meaneth the body of Christ's slesh. For beauteous this was, having nothing of the ugliness of sin. For He did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth. "The Lord hath clothed Himself with power: yea, He hath girded Himself about." Seeing that a girdle is the ornament of kings, si and serveth as an indication of a king and of a judge, therefore doth he here set

ample, the figures of the Emperor Michael, and of the Empress Theodora, given by Dufresne in his Disfertatio de Imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum Nummis (appended to the Glossay), pl. vi. This reference by S. Germanus of the girdle of our Lord to royal, rather than to priestly, infignia, is to be accounted for by the fact that the girdle was not, till after the 8th century (at the earliest) recognised as part of the ornament of the dress of Christian ministry, feeing that if anything of the kind was worn, it was for convenience not for show, and did not appear. In the Levitical dress, on the other hand, it was the most marked ornament of the ordinary sacerdotal costume.

⁸⁰ Photius, writing in the 9th century, and at Constantinople, speaks of this sermon as one of the genuine works of S. Chrysostom. Most modern critics, however (Bishop Pearson is the only notable exception), regard it as the work of another and later author. The Benedictine editors follow Usher in ascribing it to the age of Justinian, or about the middle of the 6th century. See Montfaucon's Preface, Chrysostomi Opera, tom. vi. p. 469.

Bi ἐπειδη τον βασιλέα ζώνη κοσμεῖ. In the Byzantine representations of royal personages, the embroidered girdle, of considerable width, and studded with jewels, forms one of the most conspicuous ornaments. See, for ex-

Him forth as both reigning and judging. For Esaias saith: "There shall come forth a rod 82 out of the root of Jesse, and a slower shall spring therefrom, and the Spirit of God shall rest upon Him; and with righteousness shall His loins be girded, and with truth His sides be clothed." (Isa. xi. 1, 2, 5.)

This vefture of Christ, I mean His slesh, was worn after a hidden manner, and in image, by the high-priest under the law. And mark now with attention how the shadows served as interpreters of the Truth, how the types gave their light before the fuller light of the Gospel. I speak now with reserve, and accommodate my words as far as may be, to simple and unlearned hearers, that they be not carried to and fro with uncertainties of doctrine.

The high-priest, then, when he entered into the Holy of Holies, put upon him a $\pi o \delta \eta_{\S n 5}$ (a garment, that is, that hung down from the head to the feet) together with ephod, 83 girdle, drawers, golden plate, tiara, 84 or priestly cap, 85 the Rational upon his breast, and all that the

[On Ezech. cap. xxiii. and on Dan. cap. iii.] Tiara genus pileoli quo Persarum Chaldæorumque genus utitur. So again St. Isidore, Hisp. Orig. lib. xix. cap. xxx. Imperatores Romani, et reges quidam gentium, aureis coronis utuntur. Persæ tiaras gerunt, sed reges rectas, satrapæ incurvas. Reperta autem tiara a Semiramide Assyriorum regina. Quod genus ornamenti exinde usque hodie gens ipfa retinet. And Photius (9th century), κυεβασία, τιάρα ή οἱ μὲν βασιλεῖς ὀρθῆ ἐχρῶντο, οί δέ στρατηγοί ἐπικεκλιμένη. As for this contrast of form compare Xen. Anab. ii. 5, 23, where Tiffaphernes is represented as faying, την έπι τη κεφαλή τιάςαν βασιλεί μόνω ἔξεστιν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν. The use of the term as a defignation for the regnum, or crown of royalty, worn by the later popes, is, as may be fupposed, of very late date indeed.

185 τιάρων, τουτίστι κοςυβάντιον. Two things are here to be remarked. First the mere fact that the preacher should find it necessary to explain the LXX. word τιάρω by κοςυβάντιον, affords of itself a strong presumption that no tiara, nor anything corresponding thereto in shape, could, in his time, have been generally known as the characteristic decoration of Christian bishops (compare below, Note 89). And secondly as to the word κοςυβάντιον itself. [The var. lest. κυςβωσίων must be regarded as an explanatory gloss, substituting a comparatively common word for one which in literary Greek

⁸² ράβδος. In this word which according to context may mean either (α) the young shoot of a tree, or (β) among many other secondary meanings, a septre, the writer sees a prophecy of Christ's royalty, as in the words δικαιοσύνη and ἀλήθεια which follow, he finds symbolised His office as a Judge.

⁸³ ἐπωμίδα. Following the LXX.

⁸⁴ Τιάρα [alfo τιάρας, τιήρας, τιήρης], a Perfian word, and Perfian head-dress. So S. Chryfostom speaks of it, Homil. 17, in Αδία: καθάπες οἱ Πέςσαι τὴν τιάςαν πεςιελόντες, καὶ τὰς ἀναζυρίδας καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα τὰ βαρβαρικὰ, τὴν ἄλλην στολὴν τὴν ήμῖν ἐπιχώριον ὑπελθόντες, καὶ κειράμενοι χρῶ κεύπτουσι τῷ σχήματι τὸν πόλεμον. "As the Persians, by taking off their tiara, their trousers and foreign shoes, and assuming the drefs commonly worn by ourfelves, and shaving the skin, conceal under this outward semblance the war they bear in their hearts." But a tiara of a peculiar shape, with an upright peak, was the diffinctive mark of Perfian kings. So Æschylus speaks of it, Pers. 662, where the Chorus implore Darius to reappear on earth, βασιλείου τιάςας φάλαςον πιφαύσκων. Comp. Aristoph. Aves. 487. And of ecclesiastical writers, St. Jerome uses the word of the high cap (shaped like a "Cap of Liberty") which was then regarded as the characteristic mark of "men of the East."

Scripture there fetteth forth, and which yourselves may see. In 86 all this that which outwardly is fashioned is one—other is that which thereby is to be understood. For God delighteth not in blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen. That for which God looketh is purity of heart. But in the embodiment of these colours He setteth before us, as in a picture, the semblance of the divers virtues. For if God did indeed find pleasure in those vestments of glory, why did He not clothe Moses therewith before that he clothed Aaron? But Moses was himself without that vesture, and yet clothed therewith the priests. Moses was not washed with water, and yet did he wash them. He was not anointed with oil, yet did he anoint them. He wore not a priestly vestment, yet he put that vestment on the priests; that thou thereby mightest learn that to him that is persect 87 virtue sufficeth for all adornment.

But let us fet the priest before us, from the head downwards. For the very name of what he putteth upon him is matter of doubt and question, and has been rendered by another word in Greek. To begin then with the head. What was first? "Tiara," or what, is the name it bears? And why 88 is that which he weareth fashioned as a tiara? Because the high-priest was head of the people, and there was need that one who was made head of all, should himself have power set upon his head. For absolute and arbitrary power is not to be endured, but if it have the symbol of supreme power set upon it, then is it made subject unto law. Therefore it is commanded that the head of the priest be not bare but covered, in order that he who is head of the people may learn that he too hath a Head (in heaven). For 89 this cause in the church also, in the ordaining of priests (61 s), the

is very rare, and confined to very late writers.] It is properly an adjective, with the meaning for pertaining to the Corybantes," or priefts of Cybele, and hence used of a cap, or bonnet of peculiar shape, such as they wore. In Græcitate, quæ dicitur, vulgari, κορυβώνσιον nihil aliud significat quam κυρβωσία (a Persian cap, or tiara). Lobeck on Soph. Ajax. p. 374, Note.

^{86 &}quot;Αλλα μέν τὰ σχήματα, ἄλλα δὲ τὰ νοήματα. Οὐ γὰς πάντως Θεὸς ἀναπάυεται ὑακίνθω καὶ ποςφύςα καὶ κόκκω καὶ βύσσω. Θεὸς γὰς ψυχῶν ἀπαιτεῖ καθαςότητα ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς σωματικοῖς ἄνθεσι διαγράφει τῶν ἀρετῶν τὴν εἰκόνα. Εἰ γὰς ἀληθῶς ταῖς στολαῖς ἐκεί-

ναις ταῖς ἐνδόζοις ἀνεπαύετο διὰ τ**΄ π**'ρὸ τοῦ ᾿Ααρὼν τὸν Μωυσῆν οὐκ ἐνέδυσεν.

⁸⁷ iva μαθης δτι τῷ τελείφ ἀρκεῖ ἢ ἀρετὰ τρὸς κόσμον. For the meaning of τέλειος compare Note 34. The word feems here to be used of the persection of the Gosepl as compared with the impersect and typical character of the law.

As no question of importance is involved, I need not enter into the history of the conjecturally amended text translated as above.

⁶⁹ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῆ ἐκκλησία ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις τῶν ἱερέων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τίθεται, Ἱνα μάθη ὁ χειροτ-

gospel of Christ is laid upon their heads, that he who is ordained may learn that he then receiveth the true tiara of the Gospel; and may learn this also, that though he be head of all, yet doth he act in subjection to God's laws; though he be ruler of all, yet is he too under rule to the law; though in all things a fetter forth of the Word, yet himself to that Word in subjection. Therefore said one, a worthy man of the former times, Ignatius by name, of high renown as bishop and as martyr, when writing to a certain priest, 90 "Without thy will let nought be done: but thyself do nought without the will of God." We fee then that to one who is chief in priestly ministry to God the Gospels (laid upon his head) are a fign that he is under authority. For this cause Paul speaketh concerning a woman having her head covered, "The woman ought to have wherewith to cover her head," this covering being the fymbol of authority. The tiara then was the fign of authority; and fo, too, was the golden plate, whereon was inscribed that which is written in God's Word, the Name of God being thereon engraved, and showing this first, that the Name of God is none other than the power of God.

After the priestly cap and the golden plate, there are two emeralds on the shoulders of the high-priest, having upon them the names of fix tribes on the one side, and of the other six on the other side. Herein is a sign of what, in the priest, should be set forth to view. And the emerald is assigned unto him, as having a twofold beauty; in respect of its colour, pale, yet lovely to look upon, and in respect of its purity, like in power to a mirror. And as a priest should exercise himself in all holy abstinence, and in his life be as a mirror unto men, therefore doth God will that the high-priest should bear the symbol of virtue upon his shoulders. Yet why upon the shoulders? As the name of God is set upon his head, so is joint 91 set upon

νούμενος ὅτι τὴν ἀληθινὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τιάραν λαμβάνει καὶ Ἰνα μάθη ὅτι εἰ καὶ πάντων ἐστι κεφαλὴ ἀλλὶ ὑπὸ τοὐτους πράττει τοὺς νόμους, κ. τ.λ. Thomassinus, referring to this passage, says, and with good reason: Inde non inepte colligeret quis simplicissima tunc fuisse pontificum capitis indumenta. He might have said yet more, that from this passage compared with that of S. Germanus, (quoted later in this volume) to which also he refers, it scarcely admits of doubt, that no episcopal insignia corresponding to the tiara of the high-priest were known at

Constantinople in the 6th century, or even at the beginning of the 8th.

⁹⁰ isgrips is here used in reference to a Christian bishop (it is the letter to Polycrates that is here quoted). Compare Note 61.

⁹¹ The two precious stones here spoken of served the purpose of a class. Hence apparently the allusion in the text: ἐπειδὴ πὸ ποῦ θεοῦ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, τὸ ἄρθρον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρθρου. The explanation is unsatisfactory, but I have no better to suggest.

joint. And once more, why upon the shoulders? Because the shoulders are significant of activity, 92 seeing that to them doth active power belong. . . . Upon the breast of the priest was worn the oracle, or breastplate, containing the twelve graven stones,—sardius, topaz, emerald, carbuncle, sapphire, jasper, jacynth, agate, amethyst, chrysolith, beryl, onyx. Among these twelve stones were distributed the names of the twelve tribes. And here, too, is a saying hard to be understood. Above, upon the shoulders, the stones were of one kind, and bearing but one name, as emeralds. But lower down upon the breast the stones are thus diverse. What doth this mean? Seeing that human nature, of which we had our birth, is one, but that by diversities of will we are divided, therefore is one of these symbols assigned unto the will, the other to that nature which is common to man. By the Name of God, then, was signified active virtue, the elements whereof are reason and truth.

On the lower border of the priest's $(61 \, \alpha)$ robe, is the fringe 93 thereof, whereon are flowers and pomegranates, with golden fruits and bells. And what meant these in the vesture of the priest $(61 \, \alpha)$? Shall we deem that God found pleasure in these flowers? Was it of His desire that the priest should be clothed round about with flowers that are of earth $(61 \, \alpha)$? Not so. But in this outward habit of the priest $(61 \, \alpha)$ He setteth forth the image of all virtues. Above, upon the head, the Name of God; upon the breast, the Oracle; below, flowers and fruits, even the righteous habits of Christian virtues, such as are merciful kindness, justice, brotherly love. 94

worn in offices of holy ministry by himself and by other Christian bishops or priests, had been modelled of set purpose, by apostolic, or by later ecclesiastical, authority, upon the type of the Levitical vestments. See more particularly the passages quoted in Notes 86, 87, and 89.

⁹² ἐπείδη πράξεώς ἐστι σημεῖον. 'Η γὰρ πρακτική δύναμις ἐν τοῖς ἄμοις ἤρτηται. Compare Note 35.

⁹³ λωμα, as in the LXX.

⁹⁴ It will be feen on perusal of the passage above given that its language throughout is such as none could with any probability be supposed to use, who deemed that the dress

XVII.

DIVUS GREGORIUS PAPA.95

ON THE LEVITICAL VESTMENTS AND INSIGNIA.

Expositio Moralis in Beatum Job, Lib. xxvIII. Cap. vi.

[Commenting on the words, Ubi eras quando ponebam fundamenta terræ (Job, xxxviii. 4), he writes as follows:]—

"In Scriptura (acra quid aliud fundamenta quam prædicatores accipimus? Quos dum primos Dominus in sancta Ecclesia posuit, tota in eis sequentis fabricæ structura surrexit. Unde et Sacerdos cum tabernaculum ingreditur duodecim lapides portare in pectore jubetur: quia videlicet semetipsum pro nobis sacrificium offerens Pontifex noster, dum fortes in ipso exordio prædicatores exhibuit, duodecim lapides sub capite in prima sui corporis parte portavit. Sancti itaque Apostoli et pro prima ostensione ornamenti lapides sunt in pectore, et pro prima soliditate ædificii in solo fundamenta. Unde David Propheta cum sanctam Ecclesiam in sublimibus Apostolorum mentibus poni ædificarique conspiceret, fundamenta ejus, inquit, in montibus fanctis. (Ps. lxxxvi.) Cum vero in facro eloquio non fundamenta sed singulari numero fundamentum dicitur, nullus alius nisi ipse Dominus designatur, per cujus divinitatis potentiam nutantia infirmitatis nostræ corda solidantur. De quo et Paulus ait: Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere præter id quod positum est Christus Ipse quippe fundamentum fundamentorum est: quia et origo est inchoantium et constantia robustorum." 96

"By foundations' in the Holy Scripture, we are to understand those preachers of God's Word (the Apostles) who were set foremost in the Church by the Lord, and on whom, therefore, was built up the whole structure of the spiritual Building that followed. And

⁹⁵ St. Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome from A.D. 590 to 604.

this is the reason that the high-priest, when he enters the Tabernacle, is bidden to wear the twelve stones (of the 'Rationale') on his breast, because our own High-priest, in setting forth at the very first mighty preachers of His Word, carried, as it were, twelve stones, in subjection to the Head, in the forefront of His own Body. And fo the Holy Apostles are both stones upon the breast, in accordance with that first fetting forth of ornament, and in respect of the first solid grounding of 'the Building' are as foundation-stones laid in the ground. Hence that word of Prophet David as he beheld the holy Church being founded and built up upon the exalted minds of the Apostles, 'Her foundations,' faith he, 'are upon the holy mountains.' But when in the Divine Word we hear speak not of 'foundations,' as of many, but of 'the foundation' as of one only, then is none other intended but the Lord alone, by the power of whose divine nature steadfastness is given to the tottering heart of human infirmity. Of Him speaketh Paul when he faith, 'Other foundation can no man lay fave that which is already laid, even Christ Jesus.' For He is the Foundation of all foundations, feeing that He is both the beginning of Life to them that begin, and the fustaining strength of them that are strong." 96

fuch correspondence, nor thinks it necessary to account for there being none. Compare his own words (quoted below, p. 61), Vestimenta facerdotis quid aliud quam resta opera debemus accipere? "By the vestments of the high-priest what are we to understand but righteous works?"

⁹⁶ This passage is quoted as a strong evidence (to say the least) that to St. Gregory nothing was known in the dress of Christian Bishops that corresponded to the Rational of the Jewish high-priest; and that the idea of any such correspondence being intended never occurred to him. He neither casts about to find any

XVIII.

D'IVUS GREGORIUS PAPA.

SYMBOLISM OF THE HIGH-PRIEST'S BREASTPLATE.

PASTORALIS CURA, PARS SECUNDA (TOM. I. p. 1185), CAP. II.

[In this chapter he is fpeaking of the purity of thought which becometh them who take upon them the charge of "carrying living vessels" into the Temple of Eternity." He proceeds as follows:]—

Hinc divina voce præcipitur ut in Aaron pectore rationale judicii vittis ligantibus imprimatur: quatenus sacerdotale cor nequaquam cogitationes sluxæ possideant, sed ratio sola constringat: ne indiscretum quid vel inutile cogitet, qui ad exemplum aliis constitutus ex gravitate vitæ semper debet ostendere quantam in pectore rationem portet. In quo etiam rationali vigilanter adjungitur ut duodecim nomina patriarcharum describantur. Ascriptos etenim patres semper in pectore ferre, est antiquorum vitam sine intermissione cogitare. [Plura et similia in eandem fere sententiam sequuntur.]98

"Hence it is that by the voice of God that precept is given that on the breast of Aaron the (breastplate) Rational of Judgment should be closely fastened with attaching bands, forasmuch as it would not be meet that the heart of the priest should be occupied by loose imaginations, but by reason alone be constrained: that nothing indiscreet nor mischievous may fill the mind of one, who, set as he is for an ensample unto others, ought to show plainly how much of reason he beareth on his breast. And of this Rational this, too, is carefully enjoined, that the twelve names of the Patriarchs be thereon inscribed. For by the continual bearing of the fathers graven upon the breast, is meant the remembering without ceasing the lives of them that are of the former times." [Here follows much more to the same effect, in general, though not verbal, accordance with the comment of S. Jerome already quoted.] 98

⁹⁷ In allusion to the words of Isaiah, lii. 11, 98 To this passage the same remark applies.

Mundamini qui fertis vasa Domini. as to the last quoted. See Note 96.

XIX.

DIVUS GREGORIUS PAPA.

OF THE EPHOD OR SUPERHUMERAL.

Pastoralis Cura, Pars II. Cap. III. p. 1187.

[HE is urging upon the Paftor that he should ever lead the way in all good work, that so the Flock, guided at once by the voice of their Shepherd, and by his good life, may make their onward way by example rather than by precept only. In illustration he refers 99 to the setting apart (by Levitical law) of the right shoulder and the breast 100 of the offerings as the priest's portion. He pursues his thought in these words:—]

"Unde supernæ quoque vocis imperio in utroque humero sacerdos velamine superhumeralis astringitur: 101 ut contra adversa ac prospera virtutum semper ornamento muniatur: quatenus juxta vocem Pauli, Per arma justitiæ a dextris sinistrisque gradiens, cum ad sola quæ anteriora sunt nititur, in nullo delectationis insimæ latere slectatur. Non hunc prospera elevent, non adversa perturbent, non blanda usque ad voluptatem demulceant, non aspera usque ad desperationem premant: ut dum nullis passionibus intentionem mentis humiliat, quanta in utroque humero superhumeralis pulchritudine tegatur ostendat. Quod recte superhumerale ex auro, hyacintho, purpura, bis tincto cocco, et tota sieri byso, præcipitur, ut quanta sacerdos 102 clarescere virtutum diversitate debeat, demonstretur. In sacerdotis 102 quippe habitu ante omnia aurum sulget, ut in eo intellectus sapientiæ principaliter emicet. Cui hyacinthus, qui aerio colore 103 resplendet, adjungitur: ut per omne quod intelligendo penetrat non ad savores intimos sed ad amorem cælestium surgat; ne, dum incautus suis laudibus capitur, ipso

⁹⁹ So S. Jerome previously, Epistle to Fabiola.
100 Compare Note 37, above.

¹⁰¹ Velamine superhumeralis astringitur. [Superhumeralis is here a "genitive of apposition."]
"He hath the covering of the ephod sastened closely about bim on either shoulder." The allusion is to the marked contrast between the close-sitting garb of the Levitical priest (specially noticeable in the ephod), as compared with the more slowing vestments of

Christian ministry. See above Note 6, p. 2. In that Note the words quoted from the original text of Josephus should be read as follows: περιγεγραμμένος τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὰς χειρίδας περὶ τοῦς βραχίοσιν κατεσΦιγμένος.

¹⁰² Sacerdos is here the high-priest. Compare Note 61 α.

¹⁰³ Hyacinthus aerio colore. See above, Note 33, p. 22.

etiam veritatis intellectu vacuetur. Auro quoque et hyacintho purpura permiscetur: ut videlicet sacerdotale (612) cor, cum summa quæ prædicat sperat, in semetipso suggestiones vitiorum reprimat, easque velut regia potestate contradicat: quatenus nobilitatem semper intimæ regenerationis aspiciat, et cælestis regni sibi habitum 104 moribus defendat. De hac quippe nobilitate spiritus per Petrum dicitur: Vos autem genus electum, regale facerdotium Auro autem, hyacintho, bysso ac purpuræ, bis tinctus coccus adjungitur, ut ante interni Judicis oculos omnia virtutum bona ex charitate decorentur: et cuncta quæ coram hominibus rutilant, hæc in conspectu occulti Arbitri flamma intimi amoris accendat. Quæ scilicet charitas, quia Deum simul et proximum diligit, quasi ex duplici tinetura fulgescit. Qui igitur sic ad Authoris speciem anhelat ut proximorum curam negligat: vel sic proximorum curam exsequitur ut a divino amore torpescat: quia unum horum quodlibet negligit in superhumeralis ornamento habere coccum bis tinctum nescit. Sed cum mens ad præcepta charitatis tenditur, restat proculdubio ut per abstinentiam caro maceretur. Unde et bis tincto cocco byssus adjungitur. De terra enim byssus nitenti specie oritur.105 Et quid per byssum nisi candens decore munditiæ corporalis castitas designatur? Quæ videlicet byssus torta pulchritudine superhumeralis innectitur: quia tunc castimonia ad perfectum munditiæ candorem ducitur cum per abstinentiam 106 caro fatigatur. Cumque inter virtutes cæteras etiam afflictæ carnis meritum proficit, quasi in diversa superhumeralis specie by sfus torta candescit.107

observe upon its general character. It will be feen that throughout a spiritual antitype (not an actual one) is traced, between the literal vestments of the Levitical and the spiritual clothing of the Christian priesthood. The divers colours of the high-prieft's ephod are intended to teach with what variety of virtues he should be adorned who serves in holy ministry to God. The gold is fignificant of the "understanding of wisdom" (because of its exceeding preciousness; he was thinking probably of Job, xxviii. 15-19). The blue, of heavenly (Note 33) aspiration. The purple of the "power as of a king" wherewith the Christian priest should crush the power of evil thought within his heart. The scarlet is typical of charity, kindled, as he fuggests, as into fire, by the flame of holy love. The linen, fine and white, of the fubduing (Note 106) of the flesh by Christian abstinence.

¹⁰⁴ Cælestis regni habitum,—the dress of celestial royalty (regni = kingship rather than kingdom), i.e. the dress proper to one who is a partaker of that "royal priesthood" of which the text goes on to speak.

¹⁰⁵ Byffus nitenti specie—candens, &cc. For the word byffus see Note 5, p. 2; and for the brilliant whiteness (candor) here attributed to it, compare Note 19, p. 9.

¹⁰⁶ The maceratio carnis per abstinentiam is here spoken of as specially typissed by the byssum of the high-priest's ephod. The reason of this will be made clear by the following quotation. Sicut byssum vel linum candorem, quem ex natura non habet, multis tunssionibus attritum par artem acquirit, sic et hominis caro munditiam quam non obtinet per naturam, multis castigationibus macerata sortitur per gratiam. Innocentius III. Mysteriorum Missa.

¹⁰⁷ I have thought it unnecessary to translate the above passage at length. It is sufficient to

XX.

DIVUS GREGORIUS PAPA.

OF THE BELLS UPON THE TUNIC OF THE EPHOD; AND OF THE LEVITICAL VESTMENTS IN GENERAL.

PASTORALIS CURA, PARS II. CAP. IV. p. 1189.

[The Christian pastor should know both how with discretion to keep silence, and, to the profit of them that hear, to speak. In this regard he must be prepared boldly to rebuke if need be. He then proceeds:—]

Clavis quippe apertionis sermo correptionis est: quia increpatio culpam detegit, quam sæpe nescit ipse etiam qui perpetravit. Hinc Paulus ait (Tit. i. 9): Ut potens sit exhortari in doctrina sana, et eos qui contradicunt redarguere. Hinc per Esaiam Dominus admonet dicens: Clama, ne cesses, quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam. Præconis quippe officium suscipit quisquis ad sacerdotium accedit: ut ante adventum Judicis qui terribiliter sequitur ipse scilicet clamando gradiatur. Sacerdos ergo si prædicationis est nescius quam clamoris vocem daturus est præco mutus? Hinc est enim quod super pastores primos in linguarum specie Spiritus Sanctus insedit: quia nimirum quos repleverit de Se, protinus loquentes facit. Hinc Moysi præcipitur ut tabernaculum Sacerdos ingrediens tintinnabulis ambiatur, ut videlicet voces prædicationis habeat, ne superni Spectatoris judicium ex silentio offendat. Scriptum quippe est (Exod. xxviii. 35): Ut audiatur fonitus quando ingreditur fanctuarium in conspectu Domini, et non moriatur. Sacerdos namque ingrediens vel egrediens moritur, si de eo sonitus non audiatur: quia iram contra se occulti Judicis exigit, si sine sonitu prædicationis incedit. Aptè autem tintinnabula vestimentis illius describuntur inserta. Vestimenta etenim sacerdotis quid aliud quam recta opera debemus accipere? Propheta attestante qui ait (Ps. cxxxii. 9): Sacerdotes tui induantur justitiam. Vestimentis itaque illius tintinnabula inhærent, ut vitæ viam cum linguæ sonitu ipsa quoque bona opera clament sacerdotis. 108

quoted, the "bells" of the older facerdotal drefs, and the veftments in general, receive a purely fpiritual interpretation as referred to Christian priesthood. The "bells" are the

voice of him who in God's Name is both "apt to teach," and "bold to rebuke." And the vertments are good works, the "clothing of righteourners" which becometh the priefts of the Lord.

XXI.

DIVUS GREGORIUS PAPA.

THE USE OF THE PALLIUM, A MATTER OF ROMAN PRIVILEGE.

EPISTOLARUM EX REGISTRO DIVI GREGORII LIB. IV. EP. 2.

[CHILDEBERT, king of the Franks, had written to St. Gregory requesting that the *Pallium*, and Vicarial authority from the see of Rome (vices Apostolicæ sedis), might be conferred on Vigilius, Bishop of Arles. In writing to Vigilius, and announcing his assent to this, St. Gregory speaks of the sending of this pallium as an 'ancient custom.' 109]

Quod vero in eis (sc. epistolis) juxta antiquum 110 morem, usum pallii ac vices sedis apostolicæ postulasti, absit ne aut transitoriæ potestatis culmen, aut exterioris cultus ornamentum, in vicibus nostris ac palliis quæsisse te suspicer. Sed quia cunctis liquet unde in Galliarum regionibus sides sancta prodierit, 111 cum priscam consuetudinem apostolicæ sedis fraternitas vestra

109 See Epift. Lib. iv. liii. in which St. Gregory writes to Childebert himfelf on the fame fubject.

110 St. Gregory here states that for Bishops of Arles to receive the privilege of the Roman Pallium, and vicarial authority, was in accordance with "ancient custom," or (as the context rather suggests) with "the custom observed in former times." The Pallium here spoken of is the Pallium worn by archbishops. In St. Gregory's time this had already assumed that later form, in which (with slight modifications only) it has ever since been retained. That is to say, instead of being shaped like a modern stole, as in the pictures of XVSTUS PP. ROM., photographed in this volume, it presented in front the appearance of the English letter Y, and was all but identical with the

ώμοφόριον of the Greek Church, already deferibed (p. 49) by S. Isidore of Pelusium.

As for the "custom of former times" to which St. Gregory refers, full information will be found in *Thomassimus*, De Beneficiis, part ii. lib. ii. cap. liv., where the whole question of the Roman Pallium is treated with much learning and considerable candour: and further particulars of importance in Gieseler's Eccl. Hist. vol. i. p. 446.

111 St. Gregory, in faying this, implies, of course, that the Churches of Gaul owed their Christianity to the Roman Church. It is probable, though not certain, that he was mistaken in so thinking, and that those Churches were by their first origin connected with the Churches of Asia Minor, of which Ephesus was the primatial see. [See Palmer's Pri-

repetit, quid aliud quam bona suboles ad sinum matris ecclesiæ recurrit? 112

"As for the request you have made, in accordance with ancient custom, in your letters addressed to me, that you may be allowed to use the *Pallium*, and be made Vicar of the Apostolic See, I will not for a moment fear that in making this request you have had regard to any exaltation of temporary power, or to the increase of outward adornment. As it is clear to all men from what source 111 the Holy Faith spread in the regions of Gaul, when you ask, as your Brotherhood now does, for the renewal of the customary privilege bestowed of old by the Apostolic See, what is this but the return of a goodly offspring to the bosom of the mother Church?" 112

mitive Liturgies, p. 155, 299.] However this may be, it is noteworthy that St. Gregory here gives as a reason why the Gallic Churches should submit to the patriarchal authority of the See of Rome, that from Rome they had originally received the knowledge of Christian truth. He says not a word of it being the duty of every Church to submit itself to the

See of Rome as having, by Divine right, a Headship over the universal Church of Christ.

112 This letter will ferve as an example of a great number of others occurring in St. Gregory's epiftles, relating to this (then, as now) vexed question of the Papal Pallium. See lib. iv. 53, 54, 55, 56; lib. v. ep. 7, 8, 18, 33; lib. vii. ep. 11; lib. x. ep. 55.

XXII.

DIVUS GREGORIUS PAPA.

THE USE OF THE MAPPULA REGARDED AT ROME
AS A MATTER OF PAPAL PRIVILEGE,
NOT OF GENERAL RIGHT.

EPISTOLA JOANNIS EPISCOPI (RAVENNATIS) AD GREGORIUM PAPAM DE USU PALLII ET DIVERSIS ORNATIBUS [TOM. 2. p. 1055]

LIB. X. Ep. 55.

Quod de mappulis a presbyteris et diaconis meis præsumptum Apostolatus vester scripsit, vere fateor, tædet me aliquid exinde commemorare, cum per se veritas, quæ apud dominum meum sola prævalet, ipsa susticiat. Nam cum hoc minoribus circa urbem 113 constitutis ecclessis licitum sit, poterit etiam apostolatus mei domini, si venerabilem clerum primæ Apostolicæ sedis suæ requirere dignatur, modis omnibus invenire, quia quoties ad episcopatus ordinationem, seu responsi, sacerdotes vel levitæ Ravennatis Ecclesæ Romam venerunt, quod omnes in oculis sanctissimorum decessorum vestrorum cum mappulis sine reprehensione aliqua procedebant. Quare etiam eo tempore quod (leg. quo) istic a prædecessore vestro peccator ordinatus sum, cuncti presbyteri et diaconi mei in obsequium Domini Papæ mecum procedentes usi sunt.

¹¹³ By urbem is of course meant Rome.

XXIII.

DIVUS GREGORIUS PAPA.

LIB. II. Ep. LIV. (apud Labbé Conc. TOM. V. P. 1127) AD JOANNEM EPISCOPUM RAVENNATEM.

[After a long and severe reproof of the mode in which the bishop had presumed to wear the pallium, on other days, and in other places, than was usual, he adds the following concerning the mappula, or maniple]:—

Illud autem quod pro utendis a clero vestro mappulis scripsistis, a nostris est clericis fortiter obviatum, dicentibus nulli hoc unquam alii cuilibet ecclesiæ concessum suisse: nec Ravennates clericos illic vel in Romana civitate tale aliquid cum sua conscientia præsumpsisse: nec si tentatum esset ex surtiva usurpatione sibi præjudicium generari. Sed etiamsi in qualibet ecclesia hoc præsumptum suerit, asserunt emendandum, quod non concessione Romani Pontificis sed sola surreptione præsumitur. Sed nos servantes honorem fraternitatis tuæ, licet contra voluntatem antedicti cleri nostri, tamen primis diaconibus vestris, quos nobis quidam testificati sunt etiam ante eis usos suisse, in obsequio duntaxat tuo mappulis uti permittimus: alio autem tempore vel alias personas hoc agere vehementissime prohibemus.

XXIV.

DIVUS GREGORIUS PAPA.

THE PRIVILEGE OF WEARING A DALMATIC, GRANTED TO AREGIUS, BISHOP OF GAP, AND TO HIS ARCHDEACON.

Epist. ex Registro, Lib. vii. Tom. ii. p. 924.

[AFTER writing at fome length upon other fubjects, he proceeds as follows]: —

Præterea communis filius Petrus diaconus nobis innotuit quod fraternitas vestra, tempore quo hic suit, poposcerit ut sibi et archidiacono suo utendi dalmaticis licentiam præberemus. Sed quia ita hominum suorum infirmitate compulsus sestinanter abscessit, ut nec ipse mæror incumbens diu, ut dignum erat, et res desiderata poscebat, sineret imminere: et nos in multis implicitos ut Ecclesiasticæ rationis consideratio novum hoc inconsulte et subito non permitteret indulgere: idcirco postulatæ rei prolongatus effectus est. Nunc vero charitatis tuæ bona revocantes ad animum, hujus authoritatis nostræ serie, petita concedimus, atque te et archidiaconum tuum Dalmaticarum usu decorandos esse concessimus, easdemque Dalmaticas, dilectissimo filio nostro Cyriaco Abbate deserente, transmisimus.

XXV.

S. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE.

OF THE INSIGNIA OF CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD.

[In the fecond book of the *De Officiis Ecclefiafticis*, St. Ifidore 114 treats at length of the various orders of the Christian ministry. The following passages serve to indicate what in his time were regarded as the characteristic insignia of the clergy]:

CAP. VII.

Quod detonso capite superius, inferius circali corona relinquitur, sacerdotium regnumque ecclesiæ in eis existimo sigurari. Tiara enim apud veteres constituebatur in capite sacerdotum. Hæc ex byso confecta, rotunda erat quasi sphera media; et hoc significatur in parte capitis tonsa. Corona autem, latitudo aurei est circuli quæ regum capita cingit. Utrumque igitur signum exprimitur in capite clericorum, ut impleatur etiam quadam corporis similitudine quod scriptum est, Petro apostolo prædocente, Vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium.

"The cutting off the hair from the upper part of the head, and leaving it in the form of a crown, lower down, is in my judgment a figurative fetting forth of the priesthood and royalty of the Church. For with God's ancient people it was customary to place a tiara on the heads of priests. This 'tiara' was made of byssus, and was round like a sphere, divided in twain; and this it is which is signified by the part of the head which is shorn. But the chaplet of hair represents the broad circlet of gold which encompasses the heads of kings. Each of these emblems therefore is expressed on the heads of the clergy, so as by outward similitude to set forth that which is written, in the teaching of the apostle Peter, Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood.

¹¹⁴ S. Isidore was born at Carthagena about the year 560 A.D., and died A.D. 636.

CAP. V.

THE PASTORAL STAFF AND EPISCOPAL RING.

Huic (sc. Episcopo) dum consecratur datur baculus ut ejus indicio subditam plebem vel regat, vel corrigat, vel infirmitates infirmorum sustineat. Datur et anulus propter signum pontificalis honoris, vel signaculum secretorum. Nam multa sunt quæ carnalium minusque intelligentium sensibus occultantes sacerdotes quasi sub signaculo abscondunt, ne indignis quibusque sacramenta Dei aperiantur.

"To the bishop at the time of his consecration is given a staff, that, as this sign suggests, he may both rule and correct the people committed to his care, and support the infirmities of such as are weak. A ring likewise is given him, for the signifying of pontifical dignity, or to be as it were a seal for guarding of things secret. For many things there are which they who minister unto God keep concealed from the knowledge of carnal men and wanting in wise understanding, lest divine mysteries be laid open to such as are unworthy.

CAP. VIII.

OF THE WHITE MINISTERING DRESS WORN BY DEACONS.

Propterea Altari albis induti assistunt ut cælestem vitam habeant, candidique ad hostias et immaculati accedant, mundi scilicet corpore et pudore incorrupti.

"The reason why they" (the deacons 115 of whom he is speaking) affish at the altar clad in white garments is this, that a heavenly 116 life may be theirs, and that bright and pure, and without stain, they may approach unto the holy offerings, being clean in body and in chasteness undefiled."

decrepitude of old age, but because of the wisdom which is proper to fulness of years. "But this being so," he adds, "one cannot but wonder why it is that fools are ordained." Quod si ita est, mirum cur insipientes ordinentur.

116 His thought is of the bright white garments in which angels are described as clad.

¹¹⁵ In Cap. vii, when fpeaking of the fecond order of the Christian ministry, S. Isidore says nothing of any distinctive dress or infignia specially characteristic of the Presbyter. But I cannot forbear quoting the following expression of half-humorous severity, which he lets fall in passing. "Presbyters," he says, are so called not from any reference to the

XXVI.

ST. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE.

ON THE VESTMENTS OF LEVITICAL PRIESTHOOD.

[In Cap. v. of the same book that has been quoted above, viz. De Eccles. Off. Lib. ii., St. Isidore treats of priesthood in general, and has occasion to speak of the vestments worn by Aaron and by his sons. He writes as follows]:—

Veniamus nunc ad sacratissimos ordines clericorum, eorumque originem demonstremus, quod est sacerdotii fundamentum vel quo authore pontificalis ordo adolevit in seculo. Initium quidem sacerdotii Aaron fuit, quanquam et Melchisedech prior obtulerit sacrificium, et post hunc Abraham, Isaac et Jacob. Sed isti spontanea voluntate, non sacerdotali authoritate, ista Cæterum Aaron primus in lege sacerdotale nomen accepit, primusque pontificali stola indutus victimas obtulit, jubente Domino ac loquente ad Moysem, Accipe, inquit, Aaron et filios ejus, et adplicabis ad ostium Tabernaculi Testimonii: cumque laveris patrem cum filiis indues Aaron vestimentis suis, id est Linea et Tunica et Superhumerali et Rationali, quod constringes balteo, et pones tiaram, et oleum unctionis fundes super caput ejus, atque hoc ritu consecrabitur. Filios quoque illius adplicabis et indues tunicis lineis, cingesque balteo, Aaron scilicet et liberos ejus, et impones eis mitras eruntque facerdotes mei lege perpetua. Quo loco contemplari oportet Aaron summum sacerdotem id est episcopum fuisse. Nam filios ejus presbyterorum figuram præmonstrasse. Fuerunt enim filii Aaron et ipsi sacerdotes quibus merito adstare debuissent Levitæ, sicut summo sacerdoti. Sed hoc fuit inter summum sacerdotem Aaron et filios ejusdem Aaron, qui et ipsi sacerdotes fuerunt, quod Aaron super tunicam accipiebat poderem stolam117 sanctam, coronam auream,

^{1&#}x27;7 It will be seen from the above that the "holy robe" of Aaron was in St. Isidore's judgment something distinct from the white tunic common to Aaron himself and to his sons. And though the mode in which he enumerates the vestments and insignia leaves it open

to doubt, whether by 'Stola' he means the vefture of the high-prieft taken as a whole, or one particular portion of it, the latter feems on the whole more probable; and if so, the "Tunic of Blue" must be the vestment to which he refers.

mitram et zonam auream et Superhumerale, et cætera quæ supra memorata sunt. Filii autem Aaron cinsti tantummodo et tiarati 118 ita adstabant sacrificio Dei.

118 Note here, that with St. Isidore, the word corona (note 54, p. 32) is used in speaking of the distinctive decoration added to the mitra of the high-priest, while the sons of Aaron are spoken of as tiarati, wearing a "tiara." But the same word tiara had pre-

viously been used (in quoting from Exodus) of the cap, or linen mitre, worn by the high-priest. [See note 84, p. 52, as to the meaning of "Tiara." The passage there quoted from the De Originibus of St. Isidore will illustrate his usage of corona here.]

XXVII.

ST. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE.

ENUMERATION OF THE VESTMENTS OF LEVITICAL PRIESTHOOD.

DE ORIGINIBUS, LIB. XIX. CAP. XXI.

[HE enters in this part of his treatife on the fubject of drefs in general; and after a few introductory lines as to the original invention of the textile arts, he commences with the "eight kinds of facerdotal veftments mentioned in the law."]

Octo sunt in lege genera sacerdotalium 119 vestimentorum. Poderis est tunica sacerdotalis linea, corpori astricta, 120 usque ad pedes descendens. Unde et nuncupatur, πόδας enim Græci pedes dicunt. Hæc vulgo camisia 121 vocatur. Abaneth cingulum sacerdotale rotundum polimita arte ex cocco purpura hyacinthoque contextum, ita ut slores atque gemmæ in eo videantur esse distinctæ. Pileum est ex bysso 122 rotundum quasi sphæra media, caput tegens sacerdotale, et in occipitio vitta constrictum. Hoc Græci et nostri tiaram 123 vel galeam 124 vocant.

Machil quæ est tunica talaris, tota hyacinthina, habens ad pedes LXXII tintinnabula; totidemque intermixta ac dependentia punica mala.

Ephod quod Latine interpretatur superindumentum. Erat enim pal-

 ¹¹⁹ He uses the term, inclusively, of both
 high priest, and priest of the second order.
 Compare note 61.

¹²⁰ On this closeness of fit here noticed, see above, note 6, p. 2.

¹²¹ He follows St. Jerome in comparing the tunica talaris of the Levitical priest to the camissia of ordinary life in his own time. See note 23, p. 13.

¹²² On the word Byffus (βύσσος) fee note 5, p. 2. The word was never fo naturalifed in the Latin language as to pass into common use. St. Isidore speaks of it as a term whose real meaning was doubtful. "Byffina candida"

confecta ex quodam genere lini grossioris. Sunt et qui genus quoddam lini byssum esse existiment." Etym. lib. xix. cap. xxii.

¹²³ For the word *Tiara*, fee note 84, p. 52.
124 Of feveral various readings which are here found (due to the ignorance of copyifts when claffical terms are concerned), the true one is probably galerum. This was a word fpecially used of the facerdotal cap of heathen priesthood (see Index in voc). At a later time the scarlet hat, assigned to the Roman cardinals by Innocent IV. (at the Council of Lyons, A.D. 1244), was known as galerus rubeus. See Dusresne Glossar. in voc.

lium 125 füperhumerale ex quattuor coloribus et auro contextum, habens in utroque humero lapides duos smaragdinos auro conclusos, in quibus sculpta erant nomina patriarcharum.

Logicon quod Latine dicitur rationale, pannus duplex, auro et quattuor textus coloribus, habens magnitudinem palmi per quadrum, cui intexti erant quattuor 126 pretiosissimi lapides. Hic pannus super humerale [Leg. superhumerali] contra pectus Pontificis annectebatur.

Petalum aurea lamina in fronte Pontificis, quæ nomen Dei tetragrammatum Hebraicis literis habebat scriptum.

Batin (fic) sive feminalia, id est bracæ lineæ usque ad genua pertingentes, quibus verecunda sacerdotis velabantur.

[Having thus enumerated the vestments of Levitical priesthood, he goes on to describe briesly every other known garment belonging either to male or to semale dress. Interspersed among such terms as Toga, Chlamys, Sagum, Mantum, Prætexta, we find the sollowing]:—

PALLIUM.

Pallium 127 est quo administrantium scapulæ conteguntur, ut dum ministrant expeditius discurrant. 128 Plautus: Si quid sacturus es appende in humeris pallium, et pergat quantum valet tuorum pedum pernicitas. Dictum autem pallium a pellibus, quia prius super indumenta pellicea veteres induebantur, quasi pellea, sive a palla per diminutionem.

PENULA.

Penula est pallium 129 cum fimbriis longis.

125 Pallium. St. Isidore generally uses this word as a generic term, nearly equal to our own "garment," requiring some special description to indicate any special article of dress. Thus the paludamentum is described as insigne pallium Imperatorum; the penula as pallium cum simbriis longis; the lacerna as pallium simbriatum quo olim soli milites utebantur. So again of the prætexta puerilis, the penula, and many others. A more specific use of the word will be noticed below. See note 127.

126 We can hardly fuppose that this mistake of four for twelve is due to St. Isidore. Probably the eye of the copyist was caught, or his memory missed, by the quattuor, which had just preceded, in speaking of the colours.

127 The Pallium here noticed is the Greek iμάτιο, the outer garment or wrapper, worn occasionally at least by persons of all conditions of life, as already noticed in the Introduction

(fee Index in voc.) It corresponded in general use to the Roman toga, but in the earlier Roman language (that of republican times) was as distinctly suggestive of a Greek costume as the toga of that of Rome.

this particular passage of Plautus. The pallium in itself was no more suited for vigorous exertion than the toga or the penula. And it is precisely for this reason that in this passage of Plautus (Captiv. Act. iv. Sc. 1) Ergasslus, the Parasite, says, eodem passo ut comici servi solent conjiciam in collum pallium, primo ex me hanc rem ut audiat, i.e. he will gather his cloak about his shoulders to enable him to run the safter. But so to carry the pallium was the exception, not, as St. Isidore seems to think, the rule.

129 On this generic use of pallium see above, note 125.

OF THE CASULA.

Cafula 130 est vestis cucullata, dista per diminutionem a casa, quod totum hominem tegat, quasi minor casa. Unde et cuculla quasi minor cella. Sic et Græce planetas distos volunt, quia oris errantibus evagantur. Unde et stellæ planetæ, id est vagæ suo errore motuque discurrunt.

OF THE DALMATIC.

[Throughout this portion of his Treatife St. Isidore gives but one slight intimation of any vestment which he regards as belonging to offices of Christian ministry. He is describing various modifications of the tunic, and amongst others mentions the Dalmatic.]

Dalmatica 131 vestis primum in Dalmatia, provincia Græciæ, texta est, tunica sacerdotalis candida, cum clavis ex purpura.

130 This definition of the cafula, or "chafuble" is quoted by almost all writers on ritual, ancient and modern. But as far as I have observed, none have noticed a remarkable confirmation of the derivation here affigned being really correct. From another passage of St. Isidore (De Off. Eccl. lib. v.) it is clear that in his time, at least, the word cafula was really used in the sense of a hut, or "minor cafa." He is speaking of Elias and Elisha, and other such, and says, habitabant in solitudine, urbibusque relictis faciebant sibi casulas prope suenta fordanis.

131 For further particulars of this vestment

fee Index in voc. It is evident that by facer-dotalis reference is here made not to Jewish or to heathen, but to Christian facerdotes. [Compare note 71.] From very early times (those of S. Silvester according to Roman tradition) the Dalmatic had been adopted as a ministering vestment of the Church at Rome. And to this Roman usage St. Isidore probably makes reference in this passage. But it is open to question, as far as this passage is concerned, whether by facerdotalis is meant epifeopal, or in a more general sense, facerdotal. Compare note 71, p. 46.

XXVIII.

ACTS OF THE FOURTH COUNCIL OF TOLEDO.

HELD UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF ST. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, A.D. 633.

[The acts of this Council are throughout of great interest, in their bearing upon questions of ecclesiastical antiquity. The sections of special interest to the question now under discussion are the following]:—

Insignia of Christian Ministry.

§ XXVIII. Episcopus, presbyter, aut diaconus, si a gradu suo injuste dejectus in secunda synodo innocens reperiatur, non potest esse quod suerat nisi gradus amissos recipiat coram altario de manu episcopi; [si episcopus] 132 orarium, annulum et baculum: si presbyter, orarium et planetam: si diaconus, orarium et albam: si subdiaconus, patenam et calicem: sic et reliqui gradus ea in reparationem sui recipiant quæ eum ordinarentur perceperunt.

"If a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, be unjustly deposed, and in a subsequent synod be found innocent, he cannot be what he had previously been, unless he receive again the rank he had lost from the hand of a bishop, before the altar. It he have been a bishop, he must receive orarium (i.e. stole), ring, and staff; if a presbyter, orarium and planeta (i.e. chasuble); if a deacon, orarium and alb; if a subdeacon, paten and chalice; and so the other minor orders are to receive, with a view to their restoration, what at the time of ordination they originally received."

§ xL. Orariis duobus nec episcopo quidem licet, nec presbytero uti, quanto

¹³² The words fi epifcopus, are not in the present text, though evidently required by the context. The word EPI (i.e. epifcopi) just be-

magis diacono qui minister eorum est. Unum igitur orarium oportet Levitam gestare in sinistro humero, propter quod orat, id est prædicat: 133 dextram autem partem oportet habere liberam ut expeditus ad ministerium sacerdotale discurrat. Caveat igitur amodo Levita gemino uti orario, sed uno tantum et puro nec ullis coloribus aut auro ornato.

"Not even a bishop, or a presbyter, is allowed to wear two oraria (stoles), how much less a deacon who is their attendant minister. The deacon therefore must wear one orarium, as besits his office, and that on the less shoulder. But the right side should remain free, so that he may hasten to and fro in duties of sacerdotal service. The ["Levite"] deacon therefore, from this time forth, must not wear his orarium double. He should wear but one, and that plain, not decked out with any colours, nor with gold."

§ XLI. Omnes clerici vel lectores, sicut Levitæ et sacerdotes, detonso superius toto capite inferius solam circuli coronam relinquant: non sicut hucusque in Galliciæ partibus facere lectores videntur, qui prolixis ut laici comis in solo capitis apice modicum circulum tondent. Ritus enim iste in Hispania hucusque hæreticorum fuit. Unde oportet ut pro amputando ecclesiæ scandalo hoc signum dedecoris auferatur, et una sit tonsura, vel habitus, sicut totius Hispaniæ est usus. Qui autem hoc non custodierit sidei catholicæ reus erit.

"All clerks, or Readers, as well as Levites and priefts, are to cut off the hair from the whole of the upper part of the head, and leave only a circular band of hair beneath; not as hitherto in parts of Gallicia appears to have been done by Readers, who, wearing their hair long like laymen, cut a fcanty circle only on the very top of the head. For in Spain this fashion has been confined hitherto to heretics. To remove therefore all occasion of offence in the Church, this mark of unseemliness must be done away, and one mode of tonsure, and

¹²³ Propter quod orat id est prædicat. St. Isidore was a student of Etymology, as his xx. books De Originibus testify. But with him, as with other ancient writers, whether Greek or Latin, etymology is a weak point. To understand what he means here the reader must bear in mind that he uses orat with reference to its (probable) root meaning "speaks;" and that prædicare here does not mean "preach"

in the modern fense of the word, but like αης ύσσειν, "to make proclamation." He alludes to the office of the deacon in "uttering aloud" the various directions to the people which occur in the course of the Liturgy, and more particularly perhaps to the duty, often affigned to a deacon of reading ("Apossolum") the Epistle, or the Gospel, of the day.

of dress, prevail, in accordance with the usage of the whole of Spain. To disregard this will be an offence against the Catholic faith."

It is evident from these canons that in Spain, at the beginning of the 7th century, the "orarium," or stole, was worn both by bishops and presbyters, and by deacons, though, by the latter, in a distinctive manner, on the left shoulder only. Also that the staff and ring were regarded as special insignia of a bishop; the planeta as the proper vestment of a Presbyter; and the Alb, or white tunic, of a Deacon.

XXIX.

VENERABLE BEDE.134

ON THE LEVITICAL VESTMENTS.

Our countryman Bede, writing early in the eighth century, in his treatise De Tabernaculo (lib. iii. cap. ii. sqq.), enters at considerable length upon the subject of the vestments of the Aaronic priesthood. He lays 135 it down as a general principle that the ordination and the dress of the Levitical priesthood is in this wife properly applicable to the priesthood of the Christian Church, that the outward splendour which in the former times shone brightly in an ornate vesture, shall now, spiritually understood, be inwardly conspicuous in the hearts of them who serve in holy ministry to God. And in the acts of them who minister, there should be an outward glory also, -a glory beyond what is feen in the good works of the faithful generally. He adds, 136 that what is written in Holy Scripture, concerning Aaron, and the vestments of Levitical priesthood, may be understood primarily in reference to our Lord; but that it becomes us rather to confider therein what pertaineth to our own godly conversation in Him, and also what hath regard to correction of life and manners.

In accordance with this general view is the meaning which he attributes to the several vestments which he proceeds to enumerate. These are

spiritualiter in ipsis sacerdotum nostrorum mentibus altum intus emineat, hoc in eorum actibus præcæteris sidelium meritis soris gloriosum clarescat.

¹³⁴ Bede was born (probably) in the year 673 A.D., and died A.D. 735.

¹³⁵ Cap. ii. The original is as follows, Descripta factura tabernaculi consequenter sacerdotes qui in eo ministrent ordinantur. Quorum quidem ordinatio et babitus recte ecclesiæ sacerdotibus congruit ita ut omne quod illic in ornatu vestium clarum extrinsecus sulgebat boc intellectum

¹³⁶ Ibid. in fin. Hæc quidem ita principaliter de Domino possunt accipi; sed nos magis in eis quæ ad significantiam nostræ in Domino piæ conversationis pertineant, quæque ad correctionem nostrorum respiciant morum, decet intueri.

I. THE SUPERHUMERAL OR EPHOD.

This being fo worn as to cover the shoulders, he regards [cap. iv.] it as typical of the labour 137 of good works, of "the easy yoke, and light burden," spoken of by our Lord.

2. THE "RATIONAL," OR BREASTPLATE.

This is interpreted [cap. v.] of the purity of heart and thought which befitteth one highest in holy ministry to God. And whereas Doctrina et Veritas,—doctrine and truth,—were to be inscribed either literally or sacramentally upon that "breastplate," this was (so he writes) for this end, that it might the more clearly appear that this ornament was not only a part of the actual vesture of the older High Priest, but was also an announcement beforehand of evangelic truth, having reference either to our Lord Himself, or to His Apostles, or indeed to all who proclaim before men the same grace and the same truth as they.

3. THE TUNIC OF BLUE.

He fays that this outer tunic of the high-prieft's dress was of full length, reaching to the feet, like to the inner tunic of linen. He adds, that to be clothed in a tunic of blue, even to the feet, is to persevere in good works even to our life's end.

4. The Plate of Gold.

The golden plate upon the forehead of the high-priest is fignificant of the affurance of our "profession," which we bear upon our brow, faying each one in the words of the apostle, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Fesus Christ." 138

5. THE INNER TUNIC OF LINEN.

By linen, or byffus, is meant (fo all, he fays, agree) Christian continence, and bodily chastity. And Christian priests (61 ξ) may then be said to have the close fitting linen vestment, or tunic, of

¹³⁷ Compare note 35, p. 22.

2 4 240 olim in lamina monstrabatur, nunc in signo ostenditur crucis.

byffus, when they maintain in full vigour the life of continence to which they have devoted themselves.

6. OF THE "TIARA," OR PRIESTLY CAP.

"The Tiara, which was also called 'cidaris' and 'mitra,' was at once a covering and an ornament to the head of the High Priest; that by this he might be admonished, that all the senses" (having their seat in the head) "should be ever consecrated to God." He goes on to say that after comparing the accounts given in Holy Scripture, and in Josephus, much remains still uncertain as to the material and the colour of these caps or mitres, and of the coronulæ or encircling bands, whether of linen or of gold, by which they were encompassed. But their figurative meaning, he thinks, is such as this. "Priessly caps (mitræ) and encircling bands of linen, are worn by Christian priess (facerdotes, 61 ζ), who so maintain, in the beauty of chastity, both Sight, Hearing, Taste, Smell, and Touch, as that they may hope in requital thereof to receive from God that crown of life which He hath promised to such as love Him."

7. OF THE PRIEST'S GIRDLE.

Whereas, by the wearing of a linen tunic is fignified the dedicating the whole body to the bright purity of a chafte life, so may Christian priests (61 ζ) be said to encompass this tunic with a girdle, when with such vigilance and circumspection they guard their purity as that they shall not through self-satisfaction become inactive in good works.

. 8. On the Linen Drawers.

These, which are to be worn, as he remarks, both by Aaron and by the other priests, he considers as designating illam castimoniæ portionem quæ ab appetitu copulæ conjugalis cohibet, sine qua nemo vel sacerdotium suscipere vel ad altaris potest ministerium consecrari, id est, si non aut virgo permanserit aut contractæ uxoriæ conjunctionis sædera solverit. 139

¹³⁹ The original passage, which I have abbreviated as above, is of very great length. In it Bede follows, and that professedly, "the Fathers;" for so, even in Bede's time, St. Jerome and St. Augustine and other such Doctores Ecclesiae, were styled. Like them, he

affigns throughout a figurative meaning to the Levitical vestments, without alluding in any way to any literal vestments, proper to Christian priesthood, which had been modelled upon those described in Exodus and Leviticus.

9. THE UNDER GIRDLE OF THE HIGH PRIEST.

Before quitting the subject, he observes that whereas eight vestments are mentioned in Exodus as proper to the high-priest, a ninth seems to be added in Leviticus, viz., a belt (baltheus), with which the linen tunic was girt in before the putting on of the tunic of blue. But this belt or girdle he seems to consider as a figurative expression only, not as anything actually worn (cap. ix. in fin.).

XXX.

GERMANUS PATRIARCHA CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS. 140

THE TONSURE, THE CHRISTIAN VESTMENTS, AND THE DRESS OF MONKS.

Μυστική Θεωεία, p. 206.

Τὸ ξύρισμα τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἰερέως, καὶ τὸ γυροειδὲς αὐτοῦ τμῆμα τὸ μέσον τῶν τριχῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀκανθίνου στεφάνου ὅνπερ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐφόρεσεν. 'Ο ἐν τῆ κεφαλῆ τοῦ ἰερέως περικείμενος διπλοῦς στέφανος ἐκ τῆς τῶν τριχῶν σημειώσεως εἰκονίζει τὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου τιμίαν κάραν, ἣν, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ διδασκάλου κηρύγματι ἀποσταλεὶς, καὶ καρεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπειθούντων τῷ λόγω, ὡς ἐμπαιζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ταύτην ὁ διδάσκαλος Χριστὸς ηὐλόγησε, καὶ ἐποίησε τὴν ἀτιμίαν τιμὴν, καὶ τὴν χλεύην εἰς δόξαν, καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ στέφανον, οὐκ ἐκ λίθων τιμίων, ἀλλὰ τῷ λίθω καὶ τῆ πέτρα τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ ἐκλάμπουσαν, ὑπὲρ Χρυσίον καὶ τοπάζιον καὶ λίθους τιμίους. Κορυφὴ γὰρ κεκαλλωπισμένη καὶ στέφανος τοῦ δωδεκαλίθου, οἱ ἀπόστολοί εἰσι΄ πέτρα δὲ ὁ παναγιώτατος ἀπόστολος ὑπάρχει ἀρχιεράρχης τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

'Η στολή 141 τοῦ ἰεςέως ὑπάςχει κατὰ τὸν ποδήςη 'Ααςὼν, τουτέστιν ἰμάτιον ὅ ἐστιν ἰεςατικὸν ἔνδυμα, τὸ μέχςι τῶν ποδῶν, τὸ τιμιώτατον. "Εστι δὲ πυςοειδής κατὰ τὸν πςοφήτην τὸν λέγοντα ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουςγοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦς φλέγον. Καὶ πάλιν τίς οὖτος ὁ παςαγενόμενος ἐξ Ἐδώμ; 'Εδώμ γὰς ἑςμηνεύεται γήϊνος, ἢ ἐκλεκτὸς, ἢ κόκκινος. Εἶτα ἐπάγει 'Εςύθημα ἰματίων αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἀμπέλου Βοσώς. Διὰ τί σου ἐςυθςὰ τὰ ἰμάτια, καὶ τὰ ἐνδύματά σου ὡς ἀπὸ πατητοῦ ληνοῦ; ἐμφαίνοντος τὴν βαφεῖσαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ στολὴν τῆς σαςκὸς ἐν αϊμασιν, ἐν τῷ ἀχράντψ αὐτοῦ σταυςῷ. Πάλιν δὲ ὅτι καὶ

stantinople A.D. 1222, but resided at Nicæa, the metropolitan city being then in the hands of the Latins. De La Bigne and other editors assign the work to the older Germanus, who lived in the eighth century. A comparison of the present passage with that from the pseudo-Chrysostom given above,

which of the two patriarchs named Germanus this treatife should be referred. Of these two one was appointed to the See of Constantinople in the year 715 A.D., and was afterwards deposed by the Emperor Leo. The other Germanus was made patriarch of Con-

XXX.

S. GERMANUS 140 OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE TONSURE, THE CHRISTIAN VESTMENTS, AND THE DRESS OF MONKS.

RERUM Ecclesiasticarum Theoria, p. 135.

The tonsure of the priest's head, and the circle cut away in the midst of the hair, is in place of the crown of thorns worn by Christ. The double circlet, marked out by the hair of the head, sets forth in semblance the honoured head of apostle Peter, which, when he was sent forth to preach the Gospel of His Lord and Master, was shorn in mockery by them that were disobedient to the word. But the head that was so shorn Christ did bless, and made dishonour to be unto him for honour, and mockery to be to him for glory; and set upon his head a crown, not made of costly stones, but radiant with light from the stone and rock of His saith, above the brightness of gold and topaz and precious stones. For the adorned head, and the coronal of twelve stones, are the apostles; and by the rock is meant the most holy apostle, chief in the hierarchy of Christ.

The vesture 141 of the priest accordeth with the long tunic (ποδήρης) of Aaron, being an outer garment worn by priests, reaching down to the feet, and of highest honour. The colour thereof is as of fire, according to the word of the prophet, "Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a staming sire." And again, "Who is this that cometh from Edom?" For this word "Edom" is by interpretation either "earthy," or "elect," or "scarlet in colour." And then he addeth, "The redness of his garments is of the vineyard of Bosor. Why are thy garments red, and thy vesture as from the treading out of the

p. 51, and that from patriarch Symeon of Theffalonica later in this volume, will, I think, confirm their judgment.

^{141 %} στολή. By the word στολή here used, we are to understand not the "fole" technically so called (this is a western usage of "fole," dating from the eighth century), but

what was in the East regarded as the characteristic vestment of Christian priesthood, viz. the Φελώνιον (see note 143), of which he says that it resembles the "long tunic" of Aaron in respect of its descending even to the seet. [On στολή and slola, see further remarks in note 50.]

ποκκίνην χλαμύδα 142 ερόςεσεν εν τῷ πάθει ο Χριστὸς, εμφαίνουσιν οι ἀρχιεςεῖς ποίου ἀρχιεςεῶς εἰσὶν ὑπασπισταί. Τὸ δε ἀπεζωσμένοις τοὺς ἱεςεῖς περιπατεῖν φελωνίοις, 143 δείκνυσιν ὅτι καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ἀπερχόμενος οὐτως ἦν βαστάζων τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ. Ἐν ταῖς ἄνω λαμπρότησι τῶν νοεςῶν οὐρανίων λειτουργῶν, προφητῶν καὶ ἱεραρχῶν, εἰσὶ πρεσβύτεροι εἴκοσι τέσσαρες, καὶ διάκονοι ἐπτά· οἱ μὲν πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν Σεραφικῶν δυνάμεων εἰσι, ταῖς μὲν στολαῖς δικὴν πτερύγων κατακεκαλυμμένοι, ταῖς δε δυσὶ πτέρυξι τῶν χειλέων τὸν ὑμνον βοῶντες, καὶ κατέχοντες τὸν θεῖον καὶ νοητὸν ἄνθρακα Χριστὸν ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίω τῷ λαβίδι τῆς χειρὸς φανερῶς φέροντες.

Οι δὲ διάκονοι εἰς τύπον τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων ταῖς λεπταῖς τῶν λεπτῶν ἀραρίων 144 πτέρυζιν, ὡς λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα περιτρέχουσι.

Πεῶτον μεν τὸ στιχάριον, 14ο λευκὸν ὄν, τῆς θεότητος τὴν αἴγλην ἐμφαίνει, καὶ τοῦ ἰερέως τὴν λαμπρὰν πολιτείαν. Τὰ λωρία 146 τοῦ στιχαρίου εἰσι, τὰ ἐν τῆ χειρὶ, ἐμφαίνοντα τὸν δεσμὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ δήσαντες γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπήγαγον πρὸς Καιάφαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὸν Πιλᾶτον. Τὰ λωρία τὰ εἰς τὰ πλάγια εἰσὶ τὸ αἶμα τὸ ρεῦσαν ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ.

Τὸ περιτραχήλιον ἐστι τὸ φακεώλιον, 147 μεθ' οὖ ἐπεφέρετο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως δεδεμένος, καὶ συρόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσθεν ἐπὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ ὁ Χριστὸς, ἐν τῷ πάθει αὐτοῦ ἀπερχόμενος. Τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐπιτραχηλίου δεξιὸν μέρος πέφηνεν ὁ κάλαμος δ'ν ἔδωκαν ἐμπαίζοντες τῆ δεξιῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐξ εὐωνύμου μέρους ἡ τοῦ σταυροῦ βασταγή ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αὐτοῦ.

'Η δε ζώνη ην περιζώννυται πέφηνεν η εὐπχέπεια ην ο Χριστος βασιλεύσας εὐπχέπη περιεζώσατο δύναμιν τῆς θεότητος.

Τὸ δὲ φελώνιον ἐμφαίνει τὴν ἀπὸ ποππίνου ποςφύςαν, ἥνπες τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐμπαίζοντες οἰ ἀσεβεῖς ἐφόςεσαν. Ἐστι δὲ παὶ ἡ στολὴ τοῦ βαπτίσματος.

Τὸ ώμοφός ιόν 148 έστι τοῦ ἀςχιες έως κατὰ τῆν στολὴν τοῦ ᾿Αας ὰν ἥνπες ἐφός ουν

naturalifed. Compare notes 146, 147, and 151. As an ecclefiaftical term, it appears only to be used of the deacon's "fole," as we now call it, not as in Latin of the corresponding vestment (περιπραχήλιον) worn by priefts. But a passage of Symeon of Thessalonica (De Sacris Ordinationibus, p. 145) seems clearly to show that the same vessment which was called ἀράριον, as worn on one shoulder by the deacon (and probably also when named simply as an ecclesiastical vestment), became an ἐπιπραχήλιον or περιπραχήλιον, when worn round the neck, and pendent from it, by a priest. See the passage in Dusresne in voc. ἐπιπραχήλιον.

145 Τὸ στιχάριον λευκὸν ὄν. This στιχάριον of the Greeks corresponds to the tunica alba (or "alba" simply) of the Western Church.

¹⁴² Κοκκίνην χλαμώδα. He refers to Matt. xxviii. 28. The χλαμώς of the Greeks answered to the fagum (note 5, p. iv.) or paludamentum of the Romans, among whom, however, the word chlamys itself was naturalised. It was a short cloak, sometimes used by travellers, but in nine cases out of ten spoken of as part of a foldier's dress, and for this reason occasionally also of an emperor's, who was (as his name Imperator implies) a king regarded in the character of commander-in-chief. In shape it was not unlike the cavalry cloak worn in our own army.

¹⁴³ φελώνιον is a later form(note 152) of φαινόλης, of which pænula is the Latin equivalent.

^{144 &#}x27;Ωράριον, equal to orarium, one of the many Latin words which the later Greek

grape?" By this is fignified the vesture of Christ's slesh, dyed red with blood on His immaculate cross. And again, because in His passion Christ was clothed with a scarlet robe, 142 in this too do His chief priests show what manner of High-priest He is under whom they serve.

Then for that of the priests walking with Phelonion 143 unconfined by any girdle, this showeth how that Christ also, when about to depart this life upon the cross, did after the like manner bear His cross. Amid the supernal glories of the unseen heavenly ministry, prophets and hierarchs, there are four and twenty elders (or "presbyters"), and seven deacons. The elders have the semblance of the seraphic powers, and with their robes they cover themselves as with wings; and with the two wings of their lips they lift up the voice of praise, and upon the altar they lay hold upon Him who is the divine and spiritual Coal, even Christ, bearing Him openly in the forceps of the hand. But the deacons, siguring forth the angelic hosts, with the light wings of their light stoles, 144 haste onward, as ministering spirits fent forth for the service of men.

And first the "flicharion," 145 being white, fignisheth the splendour of Godhead, and the bright purity of life which becometh Christian priests. The stripes 146 of the slicharion upon the wristband of the sleeve, are fignisheant of the bands wherewith Christ was bound; for they bound Him and led Him away to Caiaphas the high-priest, and to Pilate. The stripes across the robe itself signify the blood which slowed from Christ's side upon the cross. The Peritrachelion is the band 147 wherewith He was taken bound from the palace of the high-priest, and dragged on by the neck, at the time of His passion. By the right side of the Epitrachelion is showed the reed which they put in mockery into the right hand of Christ. And by the lest part thereof the bearing of the cross upon His shoulders.

The girdle, wherewith the priest girdeth himself about, signifieth the beauty wherewith Christ, entering upon His kingdom, did gird Himself withal, even the beauteous majesty of Godhead.

In the Phenolion we may fee the scarlet robe which those ungodly ones, in mockery of Jesus, did put upon Him. And this serveth also as the robe of baptism.

The Omophorion 148 belongeth to one chief in priestly ministry to

¹⁴⁶ λώςιον. An adaptation, in a late Greek form, of the Latin lorum.

¹⁴⁷ φακεώλιον (aliter φακιόλιον), probably a Byzantine corruption from fasciola. Compare note 152 below.

¹⁴⁸ Assuming that σεριτίθεντες is rightly read here, the word can grammatically apply only to οἱ ἐν νόμος ἀρχιερεῖς. But there is no part of the Aaronic vestments which by any stretch of imagination could be described as " put

οὶ ἐν νόμιμ ἀςχιεςεῖς, σουδαρίοις μαπροῖς τὸν εὐώνυμον ὧμον περιτίθεντες, πατά τὸν ζύγον τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τὸ δὲ ὡμοφόριον ὁ περιβέβληται ὁ ἐπίσποπος δηλοῖ τὴν τοῦ προβάτου δορὰν, ὅπερ πλανώμενον 149 εὐρὰν ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αὐτοῦ ἀνέλαβε καὶ σὸν τοῖς μὴ πεπλανημένοις ἡρίθμησεν. "Εχει δὲ καὶ σταυροὺς, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου βαστάσαι τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ. "Ετι δὲ καὶ οἱ θέλοντες κατὰ Χριστὸν ζῆν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αἴρουσι τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ ὅ ἐστιν ἡ κακοπάθεια σύμβολον γὰρ κακοπαθείας ὁ σταυρός.

Τὸ μοναχικὸν σχῆμα ἐστι κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ ἑξημοπολίτου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου ὅτι τὰ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ ἦν ἐκ τριχῶν καμήλου καὶ ζώνη δερματίνη περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ. Τὸ δέ κείρεσθαι τὴν κάραν ὁλοτελῶς κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστόλου Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοθέου, καὶ Παὐλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. Τὰ δὲ ἀναβόλαιά ¹50 ἐστι κατὰ τὰ ἀναβόλαια ἄπερ ἐφόρουν Ἰμάτια. Τὰ δὲ κουκούλλια ¹51 κατὰ τὸν λέγοντα ἀπόστολον ὅτι ἐσταύρωται ¹52 μοι ὁ κόσμος, κάγὰ τῷ κόσμφ.

Τὸ δὲ μανδίον ¹⁵³ ἐμφαῖνον διὰ τῆς ἀπολελυμένης ἀπλώσεως τὴν πτερωτικὴν [deeft ταχύτητα vel fimile aliquid] τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων μιμήσεως καθότι ἀγγέλικον σχήμα λέγεται.

Ή δὲ ὀθόνη 154 μεθ' ῆς λειτουργοῦσιν οἱ διάκονοι δηλοῖ τῆν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ταπείνωσιν, ῆν ἐνεδείξατο ἐν τῷ νιπτῆρι. Τὸ δὲ ἐγχείριον τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ζώνης ἐστι τό ἀπόμαξαν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ λέντιον. Καὶ πέφυκε τὸ ἐγχείριον ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς ζώνης ἀντίτυπον τοῦ ἀπομάξαντος τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοῦ ᾿Αθῶος εἰμι ἐπιφωνήσαντος.

about the left shoulder with long bands or kerchieft." I believe therefore that there is some corruption of the text here, or elle some forgetfulness of strict grammatical construction. Reference seems to be made to the way in which the Christian ἐμοφόριον was doubled back over the left shoulder, and hung down the back, while the other end hung pendent (like the extremity of the archiepiscopal pallium) in front.

149 These words are taken all but verbatim from S. Isidore of Pelusium, quoted above, p. 49.

⁵⁰ Τὰ ἀναβόλαια. The diminutive ἀνωβολά?ιον appears in Latin as anaboladium, which again was corrupted into ambolagium. This last is described by Latin writers (see Ducange in

voc.) fometimes as covering the head, sometimes as covering the spoulders. He seems to intimate that the ἀναβόλαια here spoken of correspond with the older pallium (note 73.) One end of this was really ἀναβαλλόμενον "thrown up" over the left shoulder.

151 Τὰ κουκούλλια. Another imported Latin word. It is the Latin cucullus, our own "cowl," which in mediæval writers appears as cuculla. As early as St. Jerome's time this "cowl" is fpoken of as worn by monks,

152 He alludes no doubt to the crofs upon the cowl of Eastern Bishops (worn also by the σταυροφόροι, or privileged clergy of the Cathedral Church at Constantinople) which was so placed as to appear upon the forehead, when the cowl was worn upon the head. A similar

God, like to that robe of Aaron which the high-priests wore under the law, putting it about the left shoulder with long bands of linen, even as the yoke of Christ's commandments.

But the Omophorion,¹⁴⁹ wherewith bishops are clad, fignifieth the fleece of the sheep which the Lord found wandering, and took it upon His shoulders, and numbered it among them that had not wandered. And this hath crosses marked upon it, because that Christ also bare the cross upon His shoulders. And they that desire to live after Christ's example, they too take up His cross, even the endurance of hardship. For the cross is the symbol of His endurance.

The monastic habit is after the manner of that dweller in the defert, John the Baptist; for his raiment was of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle was about his loins.

They that shave the whole head do it in imitation of the holy apostle James, the "brother of God," and of apostle Paul, and of the rest. And the "anabolæa" 150 are after the manner of the outer garments which they were wont to wear. The Cowls 151 are in accordance with that of the apostle, who saith, "The world is crucified 152 unto me, and I unto the world."

The cape, 153 open as it is and fimple, is a fymbol of the winged fpeed of angels, and is spoken of commonly as belonging to the dress of angels.

But the vestment of linen 154 wherewith the deacons minister at the altar, is in sign of the humility of Christ which He showed in respect of the Bason (when He washed the disciples' feet). And the napkin upon their girdle is the towel wherewith He dried His hands. And this carrying of a napkin upon the girdle is in antitype of him who wiped his hands and cried, "I am innocent."

cowl is to be feen on the head of BENE-DICTVS I PAPA ET MONACHVS, in a drawing (unedited as far as I know) in the collection at Windfor.

153 Το μανδίον. Again, a neuter form, substituted for the older forms μανδύας and μανδύα. This constant obliteration (following upon confusion) of the older distinctions of gender is in the later Greek, as in debased Latin, a natural result of barbarous deteriora-

tion. The word μανδύας is fomewhat vaguely used, sometimes of a garment nearly resembling the Latin pænula, sometimes of a kind of cape, shaped much like a sagum (note 5, p. iv.) See Ferrarius, De Re Vest. Pars ii. Lib. i. cap. ii. The cloak here described is probably the ordinary walking dress of the clergy in the East.

154 These words are quoted verbatim from S. Isidore of Pelusium (fupra, p. 49).

XXXI.

RABANVS MAVRVS. 155

DE INSTITUTIONE CLERICORUM. 156

Lib. 1. Cap. 7. The Alb the characteristic Dress of a Deacon.

Pope Sylvester's Ordinances.

Levitæ . . . propterea altari albis induti affiftunt, ut hinc admoniti cæleftem vitam habeant, candidique ad hostias et immaculati accedant. Quos primus fecit Sylvester Papa, tricesimus quartus pontifex in Romana ecclesia post Petrum, Dalmaticis uti, et constituit ut pallio 157 linostimo eorum læva tegeretur, sicut in gestis pontificalibus continetur.

CAP. 14. THE SACERDOTAL HABIT OF THE 9TH CENTURY COMPARED WITH THE VESTMENTS OF LEVITICAL PRIESTHOOD.

De veste ergo sacerdotali moderna ad antiquum veteris testamenti habitum comparationem sacientes, secundum maiorum sensum, quid mystice significet, prosequamur.

CAP. 15. OF THE SUPERHUMERAL OR EPHOD.

Primum ergo eorum 158 indumentum est Ephod Bad, quod interpre-

which we find the Roman clergy claiming as exclusively their own in the time of St. Gregory. (Cap. supra, pp. 65 and 66.)

158 By eorum are evidently meant the Levitical priefts. And as Rabanus feems to have known of no actual veftment in use by Christian priefts which would answer to the Ephod Bad, he follows the older writers in giving to this a spiritual application. The ephod being a covering to the shoulders has reference, he says, to the activity in good works (note 35, p. 22) of one who is to be set over God's people in the Church.

¹⁵⁵ Rabanus (furnamed "Maurus" by his tutor Alcuin), was born A.D. 785, and in 810 was fet at the head of the school attached to the monastery of Fulda. He was made Abbot of Fulda in 822, and in 847 became Archbishop of Mayence.

¹⁵⁸ This treatife dates from the year 819

owing to the diversity of meanings in which the word pallium occurs (see note 125). The pallium (cloth) of linen woof (linostimum) which was to cover the left hand of the Roman deacon, is in all probability the mappula,

tatur fuperhumerale lineum, quod fignificat munditiam bonorum operum. Hinc bene in lege, cum Dominus de veste sacerdotali Moisen instituit, primum de Superhumerali faciendo præcepit, quia quisquis ad sacerdotium magisteriumque populi Dei promovendus est, primum ejus debent opera cognosci, ut dum hoc, quod foris omnibus patet, inrepræhensibile patuerit, convenienter ex tempore et integritas cordis ejus, et fidei synceritas scrutetur.

CAP. 16. OF THE Ποδήεης, OR LONG TUNIC.

Secundum est linea tunica, quæ Græce ποδήρης, Latine talaris dicitur, eo quod ad talos usque descendat. Hanc Josephus byssinam vocat, cujus fignificatio mystica inpromptu est. Cum enim constet, lino vel bysfo continentiam et castitatem significari, strictam 101 habent lineam facerdotes, 159 cum propositum continentiæ non enerviter, sed studiose conservant. Hæc ad talos usque descendit, quia usque ad finem vitæ hujus bonis operibus infistere debet sacerdos, præcipiente ac promittente Domino, Esto fidelis usque ad mortem, et dabo tibi coronam vitæ.

CAP. 17. OF THE GIRDLE.

Tertium vestimentum est cingulum sive balteum, quo utuntur ne tunica ipsa defluat, et greffum impediat. Hoc nimirum custodiam mentis fignificat. Qui enim tunica talari indutus absque cingulo incedit, defluit tunica, ac relicto corpore, ventis et frigoribus intrandi spatium tribuit : quin et præpeditis greffibus, incedendi usum retardat, vel etiam calcantibus fe, caufa efficitur ruinæ. Ergo lineas induunt facerdotes, ut castitatem habeant: accinguntur balteis, ne ipsa castitas sit remissa et negligens, ne vento elationis animum perflandi aditum impendat, ne crescente iniquitate refrigescere faciat charitatem ipsorum, ne bonorum greffus operum 160 jactantia suæ præsumptionis impediat, ne præpedito virtutum cursu ipsa etiam terrestris concupiscentiæ sordibus polluta vilescat, et ad ultimum, Authorem suum ad ruinam superbiendo impellat.

ing of this term see note 61, p. 39.

¹⁶⁰ Bonorum greffus operum, "the steps of

¹⁵⁹ Sacerdotes. On the comprehensive mean- | good works," i.e. the "walk" of the Christian man in all good works for God.

CAP. 18. OF THE MAPPULA, OR PHANON.

Quartum vero, mappula five mantile, facerdotis indumentum eft, quod vulgo phanonem ¹⁶¹ vocant, quod ob hoc eorum tunc manibus tenetur, quando Misse officium agitur, ut paratos ad ministerium mensæ Domini populus conspiciat. Mappæ ergo convivii et epularum adpositarum linteamina sunt, unde diminutivum mappula, sicut et mantilia, nunc pro operiendis mensis sunt: quæ, ut nomen ipsorum indicat, olim tergendis manibus præbebantur. Oportet ergo sacerdotes et ministros altaris mappulas manibus tenere, quorum officium est divina sacramenta conficere, ut cum devotione mentis opus spontaneum concordet, digne exerceatur officium, quod pie divino est munere collatum.

CAP. 19. OF THE ORARIUM, WHICH SOME CALL "STOLE."

Quintum quoque est quod orarium dicitur, licet hoc quidam stolam vocent. Hoc enim genere vestis solummodo eis personis uti est concessium, quibus prædicandi 162 officium est delegatum. Bene etiam oratoribus Christi orarium habere convenit, quia cum indumentum eorum officio proprio concinat, et ipfi fedulo ad verbi ministerium cohortentur, et plebs ipsis commissa, indicium salutare conspiciens, ad meditationem legis concurrere ferventius admonetur. Apte ergo orarium collum 163 fimul et pectus tegit sacerdotis, ut inde instruatur, quod quicquid ore proferat, tractatu summæ rationis attendat, ut illud apostoli femper in eo impleatur quod dicit (I Cor. xiv. 15): Orabo spiritu, orabo et mente: psallam spiritu, psallam et mente; et iterum (2 Cor. vi.): Os nostrum ad vos, ô Corinthii, cor nostrum dilatatum est. Ne forte fi improvife et irrationabiliter loquatur, damnum patiatur, Salomone attestante, qui ait (Prov. xvi.): Cor sapientis erudiet os ejus, et labiis illius addet gratiam. Item (Prov. xxi.), Qui custodit os suum, custodit animam suam: qui inconsideratus est ad loquendum, sentiet mala.

¹⁶¹ Phanon, also written Fanon. Comp. Alcuinus (quoted later in this book), Sudarium, quod ad tergendum sudorem in manu gestari mos est, quod usitato nomine Fanonem vocamus.

¹⁶² Prædicandi officium. See p. 76, note

¹⁶³ Collum . . pettus . . ore . . rationis. He connects the neck with the woice (comp. Amalarius De Eccl. Off. cap. 17, quoted p. 96), and the breast (see note 38, p. 22) with reason.

CAP. 20. OF THE DALMATIC. 164

Sextum namque est quod Dalmatica a Dalmatia Græciæ provincia, in qua primum texta est, nuncupatur. Hæc vestis in modum est crucis facta, 165 et passionis Domini indicium est. Habet quoque et purpureos tramites ipsa tunica, a summo usque ad ima, ante ac retro descendens [Leg. descendentes], necnon et per utramque manicam: ut admoneatur minister Domini per habitus sui speciem, cujus muneris particeps est, ut cum per mysticam oblationem passionis Dominicæ commemorationem agit, ipse in eo siat hostia Deo acceptabilis.

CAP. 21. OF THE CASULA, OR CHASUBLE. 166

Septimum facerdotale indumentum est, quod casulam vocant; dicta est autem per diminutionem a casa, eo quod totum hominem tegat, quasi minor cafa: hanc Græci planetam nominant. Hæc supremum omnium indumentorum est, et cætera omnia interius per suum munimen tegit et fervat. Hanc ergo vestem possumus intelligere charitatem quæ cunctis virtutibus supereminet, et earum decorem suo tutamine protegit et illustrat. Nec enim ullus jam erit virtutum splendor, si non eas charitatis irradiaverit fulgor, quod oftendit Apostolus, dicens (I Cor. xiii): Si linguis hominum loquar et angelorum, charitatem autem non habeam, factus sum sicut æs sonans, aut cymbalum tinniens: Et si habuero prophetiam, et noverim mysteria omnia, et omnem scientiam : et si habuero omnem sidem, ita ut montes transferam, charitatem autem non habuero, nihil mihi prodest. Charitas patiens est, benigna est: Charitas non æmulatur, non agit perperam, non inflatur, non est ambitiosa, non quærit quæ sua sunt, non irritatur, non cogitat malum, non gaudet super iniquitate, congaudet autem veritati. Omnia suffert, omnia credit, omnia sperat, omnia sustinet. Charitas nunquam excidit, et reliqua. Sine hac, nec facerdos ipfe ad altare adpropinguare debet, nec munus offerre, nec preces fundere. Unde veritas ipsa dicit (Matt. vi.): Si offers munus tuum ad altare, et ibi recordatus fueris, quia frater tuus habet aliquid adversum te,

¹⁶⁴ Comp. note 131, p. 74 and the letter of S. Gregory quoted p. 67.

¹⁶⁵ In modum crucis. He alludes to the appearance presented by this vestment when the

fleeves are firetched out on either fide, as in the figures of "Orantes."

¹⁶⁶ Comp. note 130, p. 74.

relinque ibi munus tuum ante altare, et vade prius reconciliari fratri tuo, et tunc veniens offeres munus tuum. Et item (Mar. xi.): Cum stabitis ad orandum, dimittite si quid habetis adversum aliquem, et reliqua. De hoc itaque spiritali virtutum indumento, Apostolus ad Colossenses ita scripsit (Col. iii.): Induite, inquit, vos sicut electi Dei, sancti et dilecti, viscera misericordiæ, benignitatem, humilitatem, modestiam, patientiam, et cætera: Et de charitatis eminentia paulo post subjunxit, dicens: Super omnia autem hæc charitatem habentes, quod est vinculum perfectionis.

CAP. 22. OF THE SANDALS.

Induunt quoque facerdotes pedes fandaliis five foleis, quod genus calceamenti evangelica authoritate eis est concessum, ut Marci evangelium testatur (Mar. vi.): quia hoc calceamentum mysticam significationem habet, ut pes neque tectus sit, neque nudus ad terram, id est, ut nec occultetur evangelium, nec terrenis commodis innitatur. Nam scriptum est in Apostolo (Eph. vi.): Et calceati pedes in præparatione evangelii pacis. Sicut ergo sandalia partem pedis tegunt, partem inopertam relinquunt: ita et evangelii doctores partim evangelium operire, partimque aperire debent: ita videlicet, ut sidelis et devotus sufficientem habeat doctrinam, et insidelis et contemptor non inveniat blasphemandi materiam. Admonet etiam et nos hoc genus calceamenti, ut carni nostræ et corpori in necessitatibus consulamus, non in libidinis lasciviam desluamus, de quibus utrisque nos divina lex instruit. Scriptum est enim (Isa. lviii.), Carnem tuam ne despexeris; et item (Rom. xiii.): Carnis curam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis.

CAP. 23. THE PALLIUM OF AN ARCHBISHOP.

Super hæc autem omnia fummo pontifici 167 (qui Archiepiscopus vocatur) propter Apostolicam 168 vicem pallii honor decernitur, quod genus indumenti crucis signaculum purpureo colore exprimit, ut ipso indutus pontifex, a tergo et pectore crucem habeat, suaque mente pie

¹⁶⁷ Summo Pontifici. Note that with Raban Pontifex Summus, means not "the Pope," but an Archbishop. See above note 45, p. 26.

¹⁶⁸ Apostolicam vicem. He means either "Apostolic Office," i.e. office of highest au-

thority in the Church, or (and this, I think more probable) "representation of the Apostolic See," i.e. of Rome. For the phrase vices Apostolicæ sedis, see above p. 63.

et digne de passione redemptoris cogitet, ac populo, pro quo dominum deprecatur, redemptionis suæ signaculum demonstret. Condecet quoque bene, ut ipsa Apostolica dignitas Apostolicum virum faciat, ut plena devotione, sano sermone, et digna operatione possit dicere cum Apostolo (Gal. vi.): Mihi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi, per quem mihi mundus crucisixus est, et ego mundo. Hæc quæque de habitu sacerdotali ad sensum secundum modulum ingenioli 169 nostri breviter diximus, non præjudicantes his, qui congruentius et dignius de eadem re possint scribere et plenius disputare. 170

169 Ingenioli nosfri, &c. This is evidently the expression of one who selt that he had not confined himself to the traditionary teaching "of the Fathers" concerning the spiritual significance of the older Levitical vestments (as typisying Christian virtues), but had advanced something of a new theory of his own on a subject which he evidently supposes that others beside himself are likely to discuss.

¹⁷⁰ The passage above given is of special importance to this inquiry, as in the idea

here fuggefted of a correspondence between the seven "facerdotal vestments" of Christian ministry, and the seven vestments of "the law," we have probably the very earliest example of an attempt being made to draw out in detail a comparison between the two. Raban himself appears to have been conscious how sew were in his time the points of resemblance. But the hint which he here throws out was soon improved upon by others, as we shall see in the passages which follow.

XXXII.

AMALARIUS METENSIS.171

OF THE VESTMENTS OF CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD.

[DE Eccl. Off. Lib. 11. CAP. 15-26.]

CAP. 15. OF CLERICAL VESTMENTS IN GENERAL.

Primo notandum est, ita esse clericorum habitum constitutum in ecclefiasticis officiis, ut in omnibus Christiano populo possit præbere exemplum bonæ conversationis. Quod quodammodo significat Hieronymus
in libro 172 de veste sacerdotali ad Fabiolam: Legimus, inquiens, in
Levitico, juxta præceptum Dei Moisen lavisse Aaron et silios ejus. Jam
tunc purgationem mundi et rerum omnium sanctitatem baptismi sacramenta
signabant. Non accipiunt vestes, nist loti prius sordibus: nec coronantur
ad sacra, nist in Christo novi homines renascantur. Ex his verbis intelligimus, vestes sacerdotales ad conversationem populi Christiani pertinere.

CAP. 16. SACRED VESTMENTS RESERVED FOR HOLY USE ALONE.

Stephanus ¹⁷³ natione Romanus ex patre Iobio, ut legitur in gestis episcopalibus, constituit sacerdotibus Levitisque vestes sacratas in usu quotidiano non uti in ecclesia. Tale quid Dominus per Ezechielem loquitur: Hæc sunt gazophylacia sancta, in quibus vestiuntur sacerdotes, qui appropinquant ante Dominum in sancta sanctorum. Et paulo post: Cum autem ingressi fuerint sacerdotes, non egredientur de sanctis in atrium exterius, et ibi reponent vestimenta sua, in quibus ministrant, quia sancta

¹⁷¹ Amalarius is first heard of as a deacon at Metz, then (A.D. 825) as a bishop sent on a mission from the Council of Paris to the Emperor Lewis; and, lastly, as sent on a mission from the Emperor to Pope Gregory IV. This treatise dates from about the year 824 A.D. Some editors have attributed it to a contem-

porary archbishop, Amalarius Fortunatus, of Treves.

¹⁷² See above p. 10, sqq. The words quoted by Amalarius will be found at p. 20.

¹⁷³ Stephanus I. led. 253-257 A.D. The reference to Ezechiel which follows is to cap. xliv. See above p. 29, fqq.

funt, vestienturque vestimentis aliis, et sic procedent ad populum. Et iterum: Cumque ingrediuntur portas atrii interioris, vestibus lineis induentur, nec ascendat super eos quicquam laneum, quando ministrant in portis atrii interioris et intrinsecus. Et post pauca: Cumque egredientur atrium exterius ad populum, exuent se vestibus suis, in quibus ministraverant, et reponent ea in gazophylacia sanctuarii, et vestient se vestimentis aliis. Quamvis hæc spiritaliter intelligere debeamus, tamen admoniti fumus a fupra memorato apostolico, 174 ut mutationem vestimenti juxta literam compleamus. Nobis enim qui spiritu sumus renati, ante oculos bonum est frequentare quod in mentem transeat. Per lineam vestem, qua tantummodo utimur in sanctis, intelligimus subtilem orationem, exutam ab omni carnali cogitatione ante Dominum. Locutio vero ad populum alia debet esse, tamque grossa, ut intelligi valeat a populo. Unde et Hieronymus in libro 175 decimotertio super Ezechielem: Et quia semel præceperat quibus vestibus uti deberent sacerdotes quando intrinsecus in ministeriis sunt, rursum jubet ut egredientes, in gazophylaciis sive in exedris sanctorum se exuant pristinis vestibus, et induantur aliis, ne si sanctas vestes habuerint, sanctificent populum foris positum, qui necdum fuerit sanctificatus, nec se præparaverit in sanctificatione templi, ut sit Domini Nazaræus. Per quæ discimus, non quotidianis et quibuslibet pro usu vitæ communis pollutis vestibus nos ingredi debere in sancta sanctorum: sed munda conscientia et mundis vestibus tenere Domini sacramenta. Porro religio divina 176 alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitaque communi. Namque et hîc ex verbis Hieronymi admoniti fumus mutationem vestimenti. Sequitur ejusdem in eodem: Hæc vestimenta proprio nobis labore conficimus, quæ texta sunt desuper, qualem et Dominus habebat tunicam, quæ scindi non potest: quibus induimur, quando secreta Domini et arcana cognoscimus, et habemus spiritum qui scrutatur etiam alta et profunda Dei, quæ non funt monstranda vulgo, nec proferenda ad populum, qui non est sanctificatus, nec Dei sanctitudini præparatus: ne si majora se audierint, majestatem scientiæ ferre non possint: et quasi solido suffocentur cibo, qui adhuc la te infantiæ nutriendi funt.177 Inter regulas facræ scripturæ septem hæc una ex illis constat, ut a litera transeamus ad spiritum, et a spiritu ad literam: Ac ideo non abhorret a vero, quamvis de laneo vestimento accipiamus fecundum spiritum, si secundum literam persecerimus mu-

¹⁷⁴ Apostolico, i.e. by Stephanus, Bishop of the "Apostolic See."

¹⁷⁵ See above p. 30.

¹⁷⁶ See note 53, p. 31.

¹⁷⁷ For the mystical reference attributed to woollen garments see note 30, p. 20.

tationem vestimenti, quod et secundum literam et secundum spiritum rite possumus intelligere.

CAP. 17. OF THE AMICE.

Amictus¹⁷⁸ est primum vestimentum nostrum, quo collum undique cingimus. In collo est namque vox, ideoque per collum loquendi usus exprimitur. Per amictum intelligimus ¹⁷⁹ custodiam vocis, de qua Psalmista dicebat: Dixi, custodiam vias meas, ut non delinquam in lingua mea: posui ori meo custodiam. Et in alio Psalmo: Pone, Domine, custodiam ori meo. Amictus ideo dicitur, quia circumjicitur. In isto primo vestimento admonetur castigatio vocis. ¹⁷⁹

CAP. 18. OF THE ALB.

Postea camisiam induimus, quam Albam vocamus, de qua Hieronymus in epistola memorata de veste sacerdotali ad Fabiolam: Secunda ex lino tunica, est poderis, id est, talaris, et in sequentibus, Hæc adhæret corpori, et ita areta est est strictis manicis, ut nulla omnino in veste sit ruga, et usque ad crura descendat. Volo pro legentis facilitate, abuti sermone vulgato: Solent militantes habere lineas, quas camissas vocant sic aptas membris et adstrictas corporibus, ut expediti sint vel ad cursum, vel ad prælia, dirigendo jaculo, tenendo clypeo, ense librando, et quocunque necessitas traxerit. Ergo et sacerdotes parati in ministerio Dei utantur hac tunica, ut habentes pulchritudinem vestimentorum nudorum celeritate discurrant. In eo distat vestimentum illud a nostro, quod illud strictum est, nostrum vero largum. Etenim hi, qui, in veteri testamento spiritu servitutis erant adstricti, de quo dicebat Paulus:

¹⁷⁸ The amice was in shape (when opened out square) and in primitive use, nearly the counterpart of our modern "white neck-cloth." But instead of being solded several times upon itself, it seems to have been either kept open or doubled but once. Hence it covered both neck and shoulders, and served to keep the outer garment from actual contact with the skin. This mode of wearing it is still preserved in Roman use. See Rock's Hierurgia, vol. ii. p. 612, with the plate ad-

joining. But the thought of making this neckcloth a helmet also [by holding it for a few moments upon the head, see Rock, loc. cit.] was an invention to which Amalarius and his contemporaries were not prepared. We shall find this, however, in a later author quoted in this work. See the Index in voc. Amicus.

¹⁷⁹ Castigatio vocis. See above note 163,

Non enim accepistis spiritum servitutis in timore. Nos vero quia Filius liberavit, liberi fumus; non accepimus spiritum servitutis in timore, fed spiritum adoptionis filiorum. Ac ideo sic illorum strictum, 180 nostrum largum, propter libertatem qua Christus nos liberavit. Quia primum vestimentum diximus esse castigationem vocis, videamus si secundum habeat 181 aliquam castigationem corporis. Dicit Beda 182 in libro de Tabernaculo; Hæc etenim linea, manus ac brachia debet stringere sacerdotis, ne quid nisi utile faciant: pectus, ne quid inane cogitet: ventrem, ne delicias ultra modum appetendo, deum se gulosis facere præsumat: subjecta ventri membra, ne lasciviendo totam sacerdotalis habitus pulchritudinem corrumpant: genua, ne ab orationis instantia torpeant: tibias et pedes, ne ad malum currant. Induatur ergo sacerdos primo linea stricta, ut et corpus ab iniquis operibus, et a pravis cogitationibus mentem compescat. Quod ibi fignificat strictura vestimenti, hoc apud nos lini 183 castigatio. Quia usque ad pedes Beda provenit disserendo de lineis vestibus, congruum est, ut nosmetipsos absolvamus de sandaliis, sive ut alio nomine campobis, 184 qui superfunt in pedibus. Sandalia subtus cooperiunt pedem, desuper nudum relinquunt, de quibus dicit idem, qui supra, in tractatu super Marcum: Marcus dicendo calceari eos fandaliis, vel foleis, aliquid hoc calceamentum mysticæ significationis habere admonet, ut pes neque tectus sit, neque nudus ad terram, id est, nec occultetur evangelium, nec terrenis commodis innitatur. Sicut per linum, quo pedes vestiuntur, castigatio pedum significatur, ita per sandalia profectus ad prædicandum.

CAP. 19. OF THE CHASUBLE.

Cafulam, quæ est generale indumentum sacrorum ducum, 185 ante cæteras vestes quæ sequuntur, præponimus. In illis quæ supra præ-

¹⁸⁰ For the reason why the Levitical vestments were thus " closely fitted " to the body, fee note 6, p. 2.

¹⁸¹ Videamus si habeat. To this the same remark will apply that was made above, note 169, p. 93.

¹⁸² The quotation is from the De Tabernaculo, lib. iii. cap. 8. See note above, p. 78,

see note 106, p. 60.

183 Lini cassigatio. See note 106, p. 60.

¹⁸⁴ Campobis. The true reading is probably

campagis. The Campaga was a kind of shoe worn at one time by Roman Senators only (Albertus Rubenius De Re Veft. lib. ii. cap. 5), and fubfequently referved as a special privilege to the Roman clergy (Divi Gregor. Epist. lib. vii. epist. 28).

¹⁸⁵ The term facri duces seems to be here used nearly as οἱ ἡγούμενοι in H.S. as a general term for the two higher orders of the

tulimus, castigatio corporis a vitiis designatur, excepto in sandaliis. In sequentibus vero opera justitiæ demonstrabuntur. Dicit Beda in libro memorato de Tabernaculo: Vestes sanctæ Aaron, quas illi fecit Moises, opera sunt justitiæ et sanctitatis. Casula vero, quæ pertinet generaliter ad omnes clericos, debet fignificare opera quæ pertineant ad omnes: hæc enim funt fames, fitis, vigiliæ, nuditas, lectio, pfalmodia, oratio, labor operandi, doctrina, filentium, et cætera hujufmodi. In istis enim nullus facrorum Dux negligens debet esse. Quando istis operibus vestitur, casula indutus est. Hæc in aperto sunt, et tam ad minores gradus pertinent, quam ad fupremos. Cafula dupla est post tergum inter humeros, et ante pectus. Per humeros opera exprimuntur. In eis duplex fit vestimentum, quia fic debemus bona opera foris proximis ostendere, ut eadem intus coram Domino integra fervemus. In pectore duplex, quia in eo utrunque debet effe, et doctrina et veritas : veritas interius, doctrina ad homines. Hæc duo duplicia fint conjuncta, quia tunc bene ministratur, cum opus et ratio in unum conveniunt. Opus ad humeros, ratio ad pectus. 186

CAP. 20. OF THE STOLE.

Stolam 187 accipit diaconus, quando ordinatur ab episcopo. enim semper utitur in opere ministerii. Per stolam designatur onus leve ac suave, de quo Dominus dicit: Tollite jugum meum super vos, jugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve. Per jugum evangelium intelligimus, de quo dicit Hieronymus in commentariis Matthæi: Quomodo levius lege evangelium, cum in lege homicidium, in evangelio ira damnetur? Et paulo post: In lege multa præcepta sunt, quæ Apostolus non posse compleri plenissime docet. In lege opera requiruntur, quæ qui fecerit, vivet in eis: In evangelio voluntas requiritur, quæ si etiam effectum non habuerit, tamen præmium non amittet. In eo quod stola ad genua tendit, quæ folent curvari caufa humilitatis, hoc intelligimus, quod Dominus dicit: Discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde. Sciat fe diaconus in stola superposita collo, ministrum evangelii esse, non præpositum. Evangelium CHRISTUS est.

¹⁸⁶ Opus ad bumeros, note 35, p. 22; ratio ad | ment here meant closely resembled in shape peEtus, note 38, p. 22.

the stole still worn in the Western Church. 187 The word fola here appears to the ex- See the Plates dating from the 9th century clusion of the older word orarium. The vest- among the Illustrations of this volume.

CAP. 21. OF THE DALMATIC.

Dalmatica a Silvestro Papa instituta est. Per Dalmaticam intelligimus religionem fanctam immaculatam, quæ est apud Deum et Patrem, ut visitentur pupilli et viduæ in tribulationibus eorum, et visitatores immaculatos se custodiant ab hoc seculo. Ipía Dalmatica duas coccineas lineas habet retro, fimiliterque in anteriori parte: quia vetus testamentum et novum rutilant dilectione 188 Dei et proximi. Immaculatum esse, ad Deum pertinet: visitare fratres, ad proximum. Per colorem coccineum opera misericordiæ, quæ ex charitate fiunt in pupillis et viduis, intelligimus: per candorem, visitatorum munditia designatur. Ipsa est enim vestis, de qua dicitur in psalmo quadragesimo quarto: Adstitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circundata varietate. Unde Augustinus in eodem psalmo: In veste ista varietas sit, scissura non sit. Ecce varietatem intelleximus de diversitate linguarum, et vestem intelleximus propter unitatem. Et in sequentibus, Circumamicta varietate. Pulchritudo intrinsecus. In fimbriis autem aureis, varietas linguarum, doctrinæ decus. Fimbriæ, quæ procedunt de Dalmatica, verba funt ejus prædicatoris, cujus religio fancta et immaculata est. Sicut verba ab aura aeris raptantur, ita fimbriæ spiramine venti. Profert Paulus candidas fimbrias circa manus ad utilitatem gentium, quando dicit, Magis autem laboret operando manibus fuis quod bonum eft, ut habeat unde tribuat necessitatem patienti. Quod Paulus prædicavit, opere complevit, dicens ad Corinthios de se : In tribulationibus, in laboribus. Quod ita Ambrosius in eadem epistola: Laborare non destitit manibus suis, ne cui gravis esset. Fert fimbrias candidas in latere, quando dicit: Castigo corpus meum, et in servitutem redigo; et in alio loco: In castitate, hoc est, castitate corporis, et in vigiliis. Qui hanc custodit, immaculatum se custodit ab hoc seculo. Fert coccineas circa humeros et pectora, quando dicit: In charitate non ficta. Ficta charitas est, quæ dimittit viduas et pupillos in tribulatione, et subvenit in prosperitate. Quæ simbriæ ante sunt et retro, quia mandatum dilectionis et in veteri testamento, et in novo, manet. Unde Johannes: Charissimi, non mandatum novum scribo vobis, sed mandatum vetus, quod habuistis ab initio. Mandatum vetus, est verbum quod audistis. Iterum mandatum novum scribo vobis. Quod ita Beda: Eadem charitas

¹⁸⁸ Rutilant dilectione. On the affociation | bis tinctus coccus of the Levitical high-priest is of red colour with the idea of charity, fee above, p. 60, where St. Gregory fays that the

typical of charity (note 107 in fin.).

et mandatum vetus est, quod ab initio commendata: et mandatum novum, quia tenebris ejectis desiderium novæ lucis infundit. Aliquæ Dalmaticæ habent viginti octo fimbrias ante et retro. Ubi est octies repetitus feptiformis spiritus propter genera hominum quos replet, ut laudent Deum, hoc est, reges terræ, et omnes populi, principes et judices, juvenes et virgines, senes et juniores: et aliquæ triginta et triginta, fingulæ lineæ altrinsecus quindecim; quia charitas et in veteri testamento et in novo quindecim ramos ex se producit. Quisquis studet prodesse fratribus in adversitate et in prosperitate, iste habet fimbrias coccineas in utroque humero. Hæ duæ fortunæ fignantur per finistrum et dextrum humerum. Quindecim ramos charitatis enumerat: Patiens est, benigna est: non æmulatur, non agit perperam, non inflatur, non est ambitiosa, non quærit quæ sua sunt, non irritatur, non cogitat malum, non gaudet super iniquitate, congaudet autem veritati. Omnia suffert, omnia credit, omnia sperat, omnia sustinet. Linea quæ in medio est, est quasi stipes charitatis. Quod enim significant lineæ five fimbriæ in dextro humero five finistro, hoc fignisicant in anteriori parte hominis, quæ pertinet ad novum testamentum. Sinistrum latus habet fimbrias, quia actualis vita folicita est, et turbatur erga plurima: at dextrum latus non habet, quia contemplativa vita quieta est. Per ipsam figuratur regina, quæ stat a dextris. Ipsa est una Columba; perfecta et proxima stat a dextris, et nihil in se sinistrum habet. Largitas brachiorum, largitatem et hilaritatem datoris demonstrat. Diaconus qui non est indutus Dalmatica, casula legit circumcinctus, 189 ut expedite possit ministrare: vel quia suum est ire ad comitatum propter instantes necessitates. Ipsa habet pertusas subtus alas, quoniam Christum vult imitari, qui lancea perfossus est in latere, et vult ut nos fequamur ejus vestigia, quod fignificat pertusus in latere.

CAP. 22. OF THE UPPER TUNIC WORN OVER THE ALB.

Sicut in camisia 190 designatur castigatio corporis, ita in tunica virtutes intimæ, quæ ad solos sublimes pertinent, de qua Hieronymus in epistola ad Fabiolam: Hæc ipsa hyacinthina tunica, subucula nominatur, et proprie pontisicis est, significatque rationem sublimium non patere

¹⁸⁹ It is not easy to give a meaning to these words which will be in accordance with what we know from other sources, and from Amalarius himself, to have been the characteristic dress of the deacon. The meaning, probably,

is this, that a deacon, if not dreffed in a Dalmatic, wears a Chasuble, but gathered into the waift by a girdle.

¹⁹⁰ For the word camisia see note 23, p. 13.

omnibus sed majoribus atque perfectis. 191 Ipsa est interior, ipsaque designat virtutes animæ, quæ non multis cognitæ funt, et quas femper debet habere perfectas. Unde Beda in tractatu super Lucam: Quis etenim nesciat viscera mijericordia, benignitatem, humilitatem, patientiam, modejtiam, castitatem, sidem, spem et his similia, sine ulla temporum intercapedine a fidelibus esse jervanda? Ipsa non cingitur, sed camisia. Quæ ita est fabrefacta, ut non impediat cursum nostrum ad ministrationem, quoniam memoratæ virtutes liberum nobis iter præbent ad contemplationem Dei. Camisia cingulo continentiæ constringitur, præcipiente Domino: Sint lumbi vestri præcincti, ut per duas virtutes, id est, obedientiam Domini, et naturalem disputationem, 192 constringatur omnis voluptas. Hæc funt vestimenta de quibus scribitur in parabolis Salomonis, Fortitudo et decor indumentum ejus. Et in superioribus, Et cingulum tradidit Chananæo. Si quis voluerit uti duabus tunicis, ostendet se esse diaconum et sacerdotem, sive 193 ut octo sint vestimenta fecundum numerum vestimentorum summi pontificis Aaron, cujus vestimenta narrantur fuisse circa caput et corpus usque ad pedes. De vestimento pedum et manuum reticetur. Ad illius normam, ut dixi, habet summus pontifex noster 191 a capite usque ad pedes octo vestimenta. Primum est amictus, secundum camisia, tertium cingulum, quartum stola, quintum et sextum duæ tunicæ, septimum casula, octavum pallium. Porro vestimentum pedum potius pertinet ad nostros pontifices, quam ad Aaron. Dicitur nostris pontificibus: Euntes, docete omnes gentes: Aaron tantum in Judæa versabatur. Sudarium in manu, potius ad nostros quam ad Aaron: quoniam major munditia est in novo testamento, quam esset in veteri: et illa bona habemus, quæ illi habuerunt, et plura per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Sacerdos in suo officio non se exuit casula, quia præcipiente Domino per Moisen non debet exire de fanctis, sicut scriptum est : Nec egredientur de sanctis. Ubi intelligi datur, debere eum jugiter in continentia et abstinentia manere.

¹⁹¹ See the passage from S. Jerome at p. 20. The words are quoted werbatim, with the exception of the three or four which refer to the LXX usage of ὑποδύτης. The omission fomewhat changes the sense of the original

¹⁹² Naturalem disputationem. He probably means "contending against natural inclination" (the lusts of the sless.)

¹⁹³ Sive ut ofto... reticetur. I must confess that I am unable to follow exactly the thought of the writer in this passage. Two thoughts, however, we may trace. First he

hints that the two tunics may in some cases be adopted in order to accommodate the number of the Christian vestments to those of the tabernacle. And again, that in order to preserve this correspondence we must say nothing of what was worn on the hands and the feet of Christian priests.

¹⁹⁴ By the words fummus pontifex nofter we are probably to understand the pontifex fummus (or chief Pontiff) "of us Christians," in other words, an archbishop. Compare what he says below of nostros pontifices. [For the word pontifex, see note 45, p. 26.] See also note 167, p. 92.

CAP. 23. THE PALLIUM WORN BY ARCHBISHOPS.

Pallium archiepiscoporum super omnia indumenta est, ut lamina in fronte folius pontificis. 195 Illo discernitur archiepiscopus a cæteris episcopis. Pallium significat torquem, quem solebant legitime certantes accipere. Quo dono admonentur cæteri ad legitimum certamen. Quod habet duas lineas 196 a fummo usque deorsum ante et retro. Significat enim summæ doctrinæ decorem per disciplinam mandatorum Domini acceptabilem. Circulus circa collum, disciplina est Domini circa fermonem prædicatoris; ut non sit alter sermo prædicationis, et aliud opus, dicente Paulo, Nemini dantes ullam offensionem, ut non vituperetur ministerium nostrum. Quod ita Ambrosius in tractatu epistolæ ad Corinthios: Vituperatur enim ministerium ipsorum, si ea quæ verbis docebant, operibus suis, ut fierent, exempla non darent. Mandata Veteris Testamenti, a principio Geneseos usque finem, in humerali linea operando et docendo portet pontifex: in pectorali Novi, a primitiva ecclefia ufque in finem. De torque dicebat Salomon in parabolis, Ut addatur 'gratia capiti tuo, et torques collo tuo. Quod ita Beda in eodem: Mos apud veteres fuit, ut legitime certantes, coronam in capite, torquem in collo, acciperent. Et nobis ergo si disciplinam Conditoris nostri, si gratiæ matris scita, custodimus, major inde virtutum spiritalium claritas augetur. Additur grutia capiti, cum charitas quæ principale mentis ornabat, ardentius inflammatur. Additur et collo torques, cum fulgore perfectæ operationis sermo prædicationis, qui per collum procedit, confirmatur: ac ne contemni ab auditoribus debeat, indeficienti virtutum connexione docetur. Sed et his qui Mosaicæ legis decreta Domino veniente servabant, addita est gratia novi testamenti cum spe regni cælestis, cujus splendor eximius ad exemplum coronæ vel torquis, nullo unquam sine claudetur.

the representation of Egbertus, Archbishop of Treves, and in the Mosaic pictures of the popes of the 12th century, given in this volume. He says the bishop is to bear upon the shoulder-line (see note 35) the precepts of the old covenant of works; on the pectoral-line (i.e. the part of the pallium which hangs down in front) those of the new covenant, "from the first beginnings of the Church unto the end."

¹⁹⁵ Pontifex is here the Jewish high-priest. Amalarius implies that as the high-priest was distinguished from other priests by the golden plate upon his brow, so are archbishops distinguished from other bishops by the wearing of the pallium.

¹⁹⁶ The two lines (behind and in front) here spoken of, and the torques, or collar, are evidently a description of such a later pallium (see note 110, p. 63) as may be seen sigured in

CAP. 24. OF THE SUDARIUM OR MANIPLE.

Sudario folemus tergere pituitam oculorum et narium atque fuperfluam salivam decurrentem per labia. Ac ideo sudarium significat isto in loco studium mundandæ cogitationis, quo naturales et velut ingenitas nostras delectationes studemus tergere. Sive propter effusionem lachrymarum tergendam fertur sudarium, ut in martyrologio Bedæ legitur, quod pater noster Arsenius propter redundationem lachrymarum tergendam, fudarium femper in finu vel in manu habuerit. In manu finistra portatur, ut ostendatur in temporali vita tædium nos pati superflui humoris, hoc est, carnalis delectationis. Et iterum: Sudarium ad hoc portamus, ut eo detergamus sudorem qui fit ex labore proprii corporis, quod legimus ufitatum fuisse circa corpus Christi. Unde legitur, 197 Et sudarium quod fuit super caput ejus. Sudor tædium nostro corpori est. Si non esset tædium, non toties tergeretur. Habet aliquoties mens tædium, dicente psalmista: Dormitavit anima mea præ tædio. Tædium in anima, quasi sudor in corpore. Tædium animi aliquoties folet fieri ex confcientia peccatorum, aliquoties ex accidentibus, ut est omne flagellum quod patitur ab alieno corpore: aliquoties ex infirmitate proprii corporis, quæ infirmitas aliquoties folet accidere ex peccatis. Quando tædium ex infirmitate peccatorum frontem confcientiæ nostræ tegit, habeamus sudarium ex lino castigatum et mundum, qualia funt verba David prophetæ: Cor mundum crea in me Deus, & spiritum rectum innova in visceribus mei. Et si fuerit infirmitas ex approbatione, 198 ficut in Iob, dicamus quod dixit: Sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est: sit nomen Domini benedictum. Munda cogitatio in David fuit, quando dixit, Cor mundum crea in me Deus: mundaque in Iob, quando dixit, Sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est. Sic et nos, quando tædio aliquo afficimur, ne majore tristitia absorbeamur, in consolationem nostrî quasi quoddam sudarium exempla prædicta sanctorum patrum ad corroborandam patientiam, ad detergendum tædium fumamus. Per sudarium intelligimus mundos affectus et pios in labore. 199

¹⁹⁷ Sudarium, &c. He alludes (but with a strange misapplication of the original passage) to John, xx. 7, where there is mention of the napkin" (Gr. σουδάζου) that was laid

upon the face of our Lord after His death.

198 Ex approbatione: i.e. fent as a trial of our faith.

¹⁹⁹ In labore. In time of trouble or of toil.

CAP. 25. OF THE SANDALS WORN BY BISHOPS, PRIESTS, ETC.

Varietas sandaliorum, varietatem ministrorum pingit. Episcopi et facerdotis pene unum est officium; at quia nomine et honore discernuntur, discernuntur etiam varietate sandaliorum, ut visibus nostris error auferatur, qui potest interesse propter similitudinem officii. Episcopus habet ligaturam in suis sandaliis, quam non habet presbyter. Episcopi est huc illucque discurrere per parochiam 200 ad regendam plebem: ne forte cadant sandalia de pedibus, ligata sunt. Ex eo potest sciri, quantum necesse sit ei firmare gressus mentis, qui in turbis populorum versatur. Presbyter qui domi 201 hostias immolat, securius incedit. Diaconus quia diffimilis est episcopo ab officio, non est necesse ut habeat diffimilia fandalia; et ipse ligaturam habet, quia suum est ire ad comitatum. Subdiaconus quia in adjutorio est diacono et pene in eodem officio, necesse est ut habeat dissimilia sandalia, ne forte æstimetur diaconus. Mystice, quia fandalia prædicatoris cursum fignant, solea, quæ subtus est, admonet prædicatorem, ut non se implicet terrenis negociis. Lingua de albo corio, quæ subtus calcaneum 202 est, monstrat, debere esse eandem separationem innocentem et sine dolo, ut possit de eo dici, Ecce vere Israelita, in quo dolus non est. Non sit talis, quales pseudo-apostoli errant, qui prædicabant per invidiam et contentionem. Lingua quæ inde furgit, et est separata à corio sandaliorum, linguam eorum monstrat, qui prædicatori bonum testimonium debent proferre, de quibus dicebat Paulus: Oportet et cum testimonium bonum habere ab his qui foris sunt. Hi sunt in inferiore parte, et sunt quodammodo separati à conversatione spiritalium. Lingua superior, spiritalium lingua est, qui prædicatorem introducunt in opus prædicationis. Hæc requiruntur in posteriore vita prædicatoris. At intrinsecus de albo corio circundata funt fandalia: Ita oportet esse prædicatoris intentionem candidam coram Deo ex pura conscientia: extrinsecus vero nigrum ap-

though as a rule our counties are very much larger than the ancient ecclefiastical Tagoinias

²⁰⁰ Parochiam, i.e. his diocese. Such was the primitive meaning of the word παροικία in ecclesiastical Greek (see Bingham, vol. iii. p. 37), and thence of parochia in Latin. The word was used, according to its proper meaning, to signify the "neighbourhood," i.e. the neighbouring district which had its centre in any particular town,—such town forming the capital, so to speak, both for civil and for ecclesiastical purposes. Our own "counties," each with its "county town," would perhaps be the nearest approach to such a παροικία,

²⁰¹ Domi. Not "at home" in the fense of in his "own house," but domi "flaying at home," i.e. flaying in the town wherein he dwelt, and in whose Church hostias immolabat, to adopt the language of Amalarius.

²⁰² Calcaneum, probably the "tread" of the foot, to use a shoemaker's phrase. It is a word of the lingua vulgaris, and survives, as most of such words do, in the present language of Italy. [Calcagno, the heel.]

paret, quoniam videtur prædicatorum vita despecta à secularibus propter multitudinem pressurarum præsentis mundi. Superior pars sandaliorum per quam pes intrat, multis filis consuta est, ut non dissolvantur duo coria. In initio enim debet studere prædicator pluribus virtutibus atque fententiis scripturarum, ut opera forinseca cum his quæ intrinsecus nitent coram Deo, non disjungantur. Lingua fandaliorum quæ super pedem est, linguam prædicatoris potest figurare. Linea opere futoris facta, præcedens à lingua fandalii usque ad finem ejus, evangelicam perfectionem: lineæ præcedentes ex utraque parte, legem et prophetias, quæ in evangelio recapitulantur. Etenim ipfæ recapitulatæ funt ad medianam lineam, quæ usque ad finem currit. Ligatura mysterium incarnationis Christi: quæ incarnatio in aliquibus aperta est humanis fensibus humano more, sicuti est poni in præsepio, pannis involvi, et cætera. Et aliter: Dicit Dominus in evangelio: Quodcunque supererogaveris, ego cum rediero, reddam tibi. Disponit Dominus his qui evangelium prædicarent, de evangelio vivere: fupererogavit Paulus, quia fine fumptu exposuit evangelium, operabatur manibus suis victus sibi necessaria. Opus Pauli quod supererogavit evangelio, possumus intelligere corrigias fupererogatas fandaliis, quæ manibus huc illucque ducuntur ut ligentur. Firmo gressu it prædicator, qui nulli onerosus est.

Breviter defideramus recapitulare omnem ornatum clericorum. Caput clerici mens est. In superiore parte disco opertum, ubi est imago Dei, in inferiore parte circundatum capillis, quasi aliquibus cogitationibus de præsenti necessitate. Amictus est castigatio vocis, Alba cæterorum inferiorum sensuum, præsidente magistra ratione, interius per disciplinam continentiæ constringente, quasi quodam cingulo, voluptatem carnis. Calceamenti linea, prohibitio pedum ad malum sestinando. Sandalia ornatus, iter prædicatoris, quia cælestia non debet abscondere, neque terrenis inhiare. Secunda tunica, opera mentis sunt: casula, opera corporis pia. Stola, jugum Christi, quod est evangelium. Dalmatica diaconi et sui ministri, quæ est itineri 203 habilis, cura proximorum est. Sudarium, piæ et mundæ cogitationes, quibus detergimus molestias animi ex infirmitate corporis. Pallium archiepiscoporum, torques devotissimæ prædicationis et in veteri testamento, et in novo.

²⁰³ Dalmatica . . . quæ est itineri habilis. By a dalmatic "fuitable for travel," he means a short dalmatic, not reaching lower than the knee. This shortened dalmatic, assigned to deacon and subdeacon (fui ministri) is sug-

gestive, he says, of the activity which they should display in work of charitable relief (cura proximorum). This will be explained by what has been said in the Introduction, of the various forms of the tunic anciently in use.

XXXIII.

WALAFRIDUS STRABO.204

CAP. 24. DE VASIS ET VESTIBUS SACRIS.

DE REBUS ECCLESIASTICIS.

VASA quoque, quibus præcipue nostra Sacramenta imponuntur et confecrantur. Calices funt et Patenæ. Calix dicitur à Græco nomine κάλιζ.²⁰⁵ Patena à patendo, quod patula fit. Ampulla, quafi parum ²⁰⁶ ampla. Zepherinus 207 Ro. Pontifex xvI patenis vitreis Missas celebrare constituit. Tum deinde Urbanus 208 XVIII Papa, omnia ministeria facrata fecit argentea, et patenas 25. In hoc ficut et in reliquis cultibus, magis et magis per incrementa temporum decus fuccrevit Ecclesiæ. Bonifacius 209 martyr et Episcopus interrogatus, Si liceret in vasis ligneis sacramenta conficere, respondit: Quondam sacerdotes aurei ligneis calicibus utebantur: nunc e contra, lignei sacerdotes aureis utuntur calicibus. Sylvester 210 Papa constituit, Sacrificium altaris non in ferico, non in panno tincto celebrari, nifi tantum lineo e terra 211 procreato: ficut corpus Domini Jesu Christi in sindone munda sepultum est. Vestes etiam sacerdotales per incrementa ad eum, qui nunc habetur, auctæ funt ornatum. Nam primis temporibus communi indumento vestiti, Missas agebant, sicut et hactenus quidam Orienta-

²⁰⁴ Walafrid was of German birth, and a pupil of Rabanus Maurus (fee note 155) at Fulda. At a later period he became Dean of St. Gall, and in 842 A.D. was made Abbot of Rosenau (Augiæ Majoris) in the diocese of Constance. The text is that of Hittorpius.

²⁰⁵ Misprinted in Hittorpius κύλιξ.

²⁰⁶ His etymology is at fault here. The word is probably *amb-olla* or *ambi-olla*. The old Latin *ampulla* was a jar, or bottle, which from its full fwelling shape came to be used metaphorically of anything that was over

big or its place [Projicit ampullas et fefquipedalia verba: Hor.]. This later use is illustrated by the verb ampullari, to be pompous or bombastic, and the It. ampollositá, "bombastic." Compare the Fr. Ampoulé, bombastic. The It. Ampolleta, Fr. Ampoulette, an "hourglass," have preserved the original fignification of the word.

²⁰⁷ Zephyrinus sed. 202-218.

²⁰⁸ Urbanus sed. 223-230.

²⁰⁹ Our countryman Winifrid was born at Cridiodunum (Crediton) in Devon, A.D. 670.

XXXIII.

WALAFRID STRABO. 204

CAP. 24. OF HOLY VESSELS AND VESTMENTS.

DE REBUS ECCLESIASTICIS.

THE vessels on which for the most part our holy oblations (facramenta) are placed and confecrated are Chalices and Patens. The Chalice is fo called from the Greek word κάλυξ. 205 The Paten, from patere, in reference to its open flat furface. The Ampulla, or Flagon, as though from parum ampla, 206 in respect of its small size. Zepherinus, 207 sixteenth Bishop of Rome, ordered the celebration of masses on patens, made of glass. Then again, Urbanus, 208 eighteenth Pope, made of silver all the veffels to be used in holy ministry, and amongst these twenty-five patens. In this, as in other matters of outward observance, the beauty of the church's ornaments increased with the increase of years. Boniface, 209 martyr and bishop, was once asked whether it were lawful to confecrate the holy elements in vessels of wood. To this he replied, "Golden priests, and wooden chalices, such was once the rule. Now it is the priests that are wooden, while the chalices that they use are of gold." Pope Sylvester 210 ordained that the sacrifice of the altar should be celebrated not in filk nor in dreffes of dyed cloth, but only in linen, which is produced from out the earth; 211 even as the body of our Lord

When confecrated episcopus Germanorum by Gregory II. in 723, he affumed the name of Bonifacius, by which he has fince been known. A letter of his to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury (Spelman, Concil. p. 241), breathes a similar spirit of severe condemnation against the increasing luxury in dress and ornament of the churchmen of his time. "Supervacuam et Deo odibilem vestimentorum superstitionem omni intentione prohibere stude, quia illa ornamenta vestium, ut illis videtur, quod ab aliis turpitudo dicitur, latissimis clavis et vermium imaginibus clavata, adventum Antichristi, ab illo trans-

missa, præcurrunt. Illius calliditate per ministros suos introducere intra claustra monasteriorum fornicationem et luxuriam clavatorum juvenum, et sæda consortia, et tædium lectionis et orationis, et perditionem animarum. Hæc indumenta nuditatem animæ significantia, signa in se ostendunt arrogantiæ et superbiæ et luxuriæ et vanitatis; de quibus Sapientia dicit: Arrogantiam, et superbiam, et viam pravam, et bilinguia detestor."

210 Sylvester fed. 314-335.

²¹¹ He implies a contrast with the *anima* origin of woollen garments. See note 30.

lium facere perhibentur. Stephanus ²¹² autem xxIV constituit, facerdotes et Levitas vestibus facratis in usu quotidiano non uti, nisi in Ecclesia tantum. ²¹³ Et Sylvester ordinavit, ut Diaconi dalmaticis in Ecclesia uterentur, et pallio linostimo eorum læva tegeretur. ²¹⁴ Et primo quidem facerdotes Dalmaticis ante Casularum usum induebantur: postea vero cum Casulis uti cæpissent, Dalmaticas Diaconibus concesserunt. Ipsos tamen Pontifices eis uti debere, ex eo clarum est, quod Gregorius vel alii Romanorum præsules, aliis Episcopis earum usum permiserunt, aliis interdixerunt. Ubi intelligitur non omnibus tunc suisse concessum, quod nunc pene omnes Episcopi, et nonnulli presbyterorum, sibi licere existimant, id est, ut sub Casula Dalmatica vestiantur.

Statutum est autem Concilio Bracarensi, 215 Ne facerdos sine orario celebret Missam. Addiderunt in vestibus sacris alii alia: vel ad imitationem eorum quibus veteres utebantur sacerdotes, vel ad mysticæ significationis expressionem. Quid enim singula designent, quibus utimur nunc, à prioribus nostris satis expositum est. Numero autem suo antiquis respondent: quia sicut ibi tunica superhumeralis, linea, 216 superhumerale, rationale, balteus, seminalia, tiara et lamina, sic hic dalmatica, alba, mappula, orarium, cingulum, sandalia, casula et pallium. Unde sicut illorum extremo soli Pontissices, sic horum ultimo summi tantum pastores utuntur. 217

²¹³ Dr. Hefele remarks with truth that fuch a prohibition implies that the veftments of Christian ministry were then such as could have been worn for other than ecclesiastical use.—Liturgische Gezwänder, p. 153.

214 Ut eorum læva pallio linostimo tegeretur. Compare note 157, p 88. The interpretation there given (as again here) to the somewhat obscure interpretation of the text is fuggested by the many ancient monuments, in which the left hand of bishops, priests, or deacons is feen, covered either with the orarium or some other piece of cloth, when holding facred vessels or facred books. We may not improbably conjecture that this direction to the Roman deacons had reference, in the first instance, to the care that was necessary in the use of those filver vessels (replacing the earlier glafs veffels), introduced according to Roman tradition by Urbanus, rather earlier in the third century. Hence probably the origin of that mappula (the later maniple), the use of which was claimed (fupra, pp. 65, 66) in St.

Gregory's time as an exclusively Roman privilege by the Roman clergy, and only after long debate allowed, under guarded restrictions, to the principal deacons of the Church of Ravenna. [As to the *privilege* of wearing a Dalmatic noticed by Walafrid, see above p. 67.]

215 The fecond Council of Bracara held A.D.

²¹⁶ In Hittorpius punctuated thus, "Tunica, fuperhumeralis linea, fuperhumerale," &c. So written it is unintelligible.

217 Note here that with Walafrid the "Anice" is not reckoned among the vestments at all, and he has to make up the number required by adding the fandals, which in point of fact constitute a remarkable contrast to the bare-footed ministrations of the law.

Note also that it is clear that no episcopal mitre (in the modern sense of the word) could have been in use in Walafrid's time, as it is impossible to conceive, were it otherwise, that he should have failed to notice the coincidence.

²¹² Stephanus fed. 253-257.

Jesus Christ was buried in clean linen. And only by successive additions did the priestly garb attain to that degree of ornament which is now observed. For in the earliest times mass was performed by men wearing the dress of ordinary life, as is said to be done even to this day by fome in the Eastern Churches. But Stephanus, 212 twentyfourth Pope, directed that priests and Levites should not employ their facred dress for ordinary daily use, but reserve them exclusively for the Church.²¹³ By order of Silvester, deacons were to use dalmatics in the church, and their left hand was to be covered with a pallium (cloth) of linen weft.214 And in the first instance, before chasubles came into use, those of the priestly order wore dalmatics. But afterwards, when they began to wear chasubles, they left the use of the dalmatic to deacons. Yet that even pontiffs themselves ought to wear it, is clear from this, that Gregory and other Roman primates (præfules) allowed the use of the Dalmatic to some bishops, forbade it in the case of others. And by this it is evident that in those days that was not matter of general privilege (the wearing I mean of a Dalmatic under the Chasuble) which now almost all bishops and priests think is permitted them. Then at the Council of Bracara 215 it was prescribed that no priest should celebrate mass without an Orarium (or "fole"). Successive additions were made in this matter of vestments from time to time, partly by way of imitating what was worn by the priefts of the old Covenant, partly for the expression of a mystical meaning. What is fignified by each of the vestments worn in our own day, those who have preceded me have sufficiently shown. But in respect of their number they correspond with the vestments of the old law. For whereas then there were the tunic of the ephod, the tunic of linen, 216 fuperhumeral (or ephod), breastplate, girdle, drawers, tiara, and frontlet, fo have we now dalmatic, alb, maniple, stole, girdle, fandals, chasuble, and pallium. And as the last named of those older vestments was worn only by high-priefts, so is the last of these Christian vestments worn only by chief paftors. 217

XXXIV.

ALBINUS FLACCUS ALCUINUS. 218

THE PRIESTLY VESTMENTS OF THE LAW AND OF THE GOSPEL.

LIBER DE DIVINIS OFFICIIS.

Nunc dicendum de fingulis vestibus, quibus sacerdotes vel reliqui ordines in veteri testamento utebantur. Erant autem octo species vestium sacerdotalium, id est, tunica linea stricta, tunica hyacinthina, superhumerale, rationale, cidaris, balteum, lamina aurea in fronte pontificis, et seminalia linea. His omnibus pontifex tempore sacrificii induebatur: cæteris vero, minoris gradus sacerdotibus, solis quatuor licebat uti, id est, tunica linea stricta, cidari, balteo, et seminalibus. Reliqua vero quatuor tantum summi pontificis erant.

Nunc de fingulis explanemus. Tunica linea, vestis erat interior, quam camisiam dicimus vel supparum. Hæc stricta dicitur, quoniam adhærebat corpori, et ita erat strictis manicis, 219 ut nulla ei omnino ruga inesset. Sicut solent milites habere tunicas lineas sic aptas membris, ut expediti sint dirigendo jaculo, tendendo clypeum, librando gladium, qualem et Joab habuisse legitur strictam ad mensuram habitus corporis sui: pro qua nunc sacerdotes vel clerici albas habent. Tunica tota hyacinthina exterior, nullumque alium colorem recipiens, usque ad pedes descendens, sicut et linea, unde et utraque græce podéris, id est, talaris vocabatur, habens similitudinem malorum granatorum aure-

219 Stricta . . . strictis manicis, Sc. See note 6, p. 2.

²¹⁸ This treatife was by the earlier editors affigned, without sufficion, to Alcuin, our countryman, pupil of Bede, who died A.D. 804. But there is a general agreement now in affigning it to a much later date. Thus Cave (Hist. Lit. tom. i. p. 638): Alcuini non esse (De Divinis Officiis Liber) et post annum 1000 scriptum esse, certo certius constat. And Dr. Hefele, in referring to the work, writes to

the same effect: "in dem Werke das früher Alkuin zugeschrieben, aber neuern Untersuchungen gemäß erst in 10ten oder 11ten Jahrhundert versasst zuurde."—Liturg. Gewänd. p. 156. [The text is that of Hittorpius, p. 74 sqq.]

orum, et tintinnabula aurea. Erat autem fine manicis ad colobiorum 22 fimilitudinem, et ideo unde manus educerentur, aperta erat. Pro tunica hyacinthina nostri pontifices primo colobiis utebantur. Est autem colobium vestis fine manicis.

Hæ duæ vestes, id est, tunica bysfina stricta, et tunica hyacinthina, balteo adstrictæ erant, quod erat cinguli genus ex bysfo retorta, hyacintho, purpura ac vermiculo, 221 opere plumari, 222 in fimilitudinem pellis colubri, latitudinis quatuor digitorum. Pro balteo nunc zonarum, quas Romanas appellant, usus receptus est. Superhumerale, 223 quod Hebraice ephod dicitur, fic vocatum, quod humeros obnuberet: cujus contextus de omnibus coloribus erat, magnitudinis cubitalis, id est, usque ad cingulum pertingens, amplectens omnem locum pectoris, et ad manus ejiciendas hincinde apertum. Cui vestimento locus vacuus dimittebatur in medio pectore, magnitudine palmi, ubi inferebatur rationale, quod Hebraice dicitur essin, et Græce logion. Habebat autem superhumerale in utroque humero singulos lapides onychinos, et in fingulis lapidibus erant sculpta fingula duodecim patriarcharum nomina. Habent etiam nunc ministri ecclesiæ Christi superhumerale, quod amictum 224 vocamus, quando ad altare ministrant. Rationale 225 opere polymito factum erat, juxta texturam superhumeralis, id est, eisdem coloribus factum erat, quadrangulum, habens mensuram palmi in longitudinem et latitudinem. Erant in eo quatuor ordines lapidum, terni per fingulos versus distributi: sculpti erant fingulis duodecim patriarcharum nominibus. Erant autem catenulæ aureæ, et uncini aurei: necnon et aurei annuli, tam in quatuor fummitatibus rationalis, quam et in fummitatibus fuperhumeralis, quæ catenulæ inferebantur, jungebantque rationale et superhumerale superius, inferius vero vittis hyacinthinis fibi nectebantur. Pro rationali nunc fummi pontifices, 226 quos archiepiscopos dicimus, pallio 227 utuntur, quod à fancta Romana sede,

²²⁰ Colobium, i.e. a tunic without fleeves.

²²¹ Vermiculus [whence the Fr. Vermeil, Eng. Vermilion] the equivalent of coccus, or scarlet.

²²² Opere plumari, i.e. embroidery.

Superhumerale . . . ephod. See above pp. 4, 14.

²²⁴ Amictum. See above, note 178, p. 96.

²²⁵ Rationale. See p. 22, note 36.

²²⁶ Summi pontifices. Note 45, p. 26. Alcuin himfelf gives a good and pious (but unhifterical) derivation of the word in this same treatise (p. 73), Pontifex, he says, quasi pontem faciens; eo quod pontem, id est, viam aliis præbere

debeat, werbo et exemplo, unde homines transeant ad witam cœlestem. He probably was not at all aware of the classical usage of the word.

²²⁷ Pro rationali . . . pallio utuntur. For the pallium here spoken of see note 196, p. 102. Anything less like the "rational" or breast-jewel of the Jewish high-priest, with its twelve precious stones, than the pallium of an archbishop, it would be difficult to conceive. But such comparisons were not too violent for writers of the tenth or eleventh century. And these, I regret to add, have not been without their followers in the nineteenth.

Apostolico 228 dante, suscipiunt. Tiara 228 erat vestis, pileolum videlico rotundum, quasi sphæra media sic divisa, ut et pars una ponatur i capite, ita ut medii verticis medietatem non excedat, habens vittas, quæ convolutæ sæpius connectuntur, ne facile dilabantur. Et hoc quidem minorum erat sacerdotum: Summus autem Pontisex præter pileum habebat coronam auream, triplicemque, super quam à media fronte surgebat quasi calamus quidam aureus, similis herbæ, quæ hebraice acano, græce autem hios, 229 quæ apud nos latine cidaris. Per circulum vero habebat slores, similes slori plantaginis, ab occipitio usque ad utrunque tempus. In fronte vero erat locus patens, ubi inserebatur lamina aurea, quæ quatuor literis nomen Dei habebat scriptum.

Hujuscemodi vestis non habetur in Romana ecclesia, vel in nostris regionibus. Non enim moris est, ut pileati divina mysteria celebrent. Apud græcos autem hoc dicitur, qui pileos, id est, cuphias 230 gestant in capite dum affistunt altaribus. Lamina aurea in fronte pontificis, in qua fanctum Domino five fanctum Domini sculptum habebatur, ornamentum erat cæteris facratius indumentis. Sanctum autem Domino, quod ibi sculptum erat nomen sanctum et venerabile Dei, quod per quatuor literas feribebatur, יהוח feilicet, iod, he, vau, heth; et dicebatur ineffabile, non quod dici non possit, sed quia nec definiri et compræhendi fensu ullius creaturæ, ut digne Deo aliquid dici possit. Ligabatur autem vitta hyacinthina super tiaram, ut totam pontificalis ornatus pulchritudinem Dei vocabulum coronaret ac protegeret. Neque hanc ornamenti speciem Christi accepit ab illis ecclesia. Octavum, id est, noviffimum ornamentum feminalia linea, quibus operiebant carnem turpitudinis suæ, ab renibus usque ad femina sive (ut usitatius) femora, cum ad facrificium accedebant. Hujusmodi habitus ita notus est in nostris regionibus, ut ex eo Gallia bracata cognominata sit.

Compræhensum breviter, quibus vestibus ornarentur sacerdotes et ministri templi Dei, Mosaicæ legis temporibus, quas ad instar illorum, revelata evangelii gratia, suscepit Ecclesia. Sunt tamen alia quæ apud illos non habebantur, ut stola, 231 sandalia, et sudarium, 232 quod ad tergen-

²²⁸ Apoflolico, i.e. the "pope," Bishop of the Apostolic See. For the word tiara, which follows, see note 84, p. 52.

or Hyoseyamus. The Latin cidaris has nothing whatever to do with this plant, but, like the Greek κιδαρις, which it represents, is the proper designation of a royal (or of a high-priest's) tiara.

²³⁰ Cuphias. The Greek κουφία or σκουφία.

a skull-cap, a word noticed by Eustathius, on Iliad x, and of not unfrequent occurrence in Byzantine Greek. But it is nowhere used by any classical writer, as far as I am aware.

²³¹ Stola. Here used absolutely for the older word orarium. It is of the "fole" as we understand the word, that he is speaking. Compare note 187, p. 98.

²³² Sudarium. See above, p. 103, and note 197.

dum sudorem in manu gestari mos est, quod usitato nomine fanonem vocamus.²³³

Verum quia illo tempore figuris omnia et ænigmatibus obumbrabantur, convenit, ut quid illa vestimenta mystice significaverint, quove nomine nunc specialiter in ecclesia venerantur, non verbatim, sed capitulatim ostendamus. Vestimenta illa, quæ in sanctis officiis portanda erant, typus erant sanctarum virtutum, unde et sancta dicebantur. Ad hæc facienda non tam diversa, quam speciosæ species sumebantur, aurum videlicet, quod est splendor sapientiæ divinæ, cui jungebatur hyacinthus,234 qui est color aerius, cæleste videlicet desiderium. Purpura apponebatur, quæ fanguinis imitatur colorem, ut per duo genera martyrii noverint se exercendos electi, id est, si necesse sit, non dubitent mori pro Christo, et pacis tempore in seipsis appetitus occidant, mortificantes membra sua cum vitiis et concupiscentiis. Coccus 235 bis tinctus, Dei et proximi dilectionem indicat efficaciter tenendam. Byffus geminam castitatem, corporis scilicet et animæ, significat: unde de vere vidua dicit Apostolus, Ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu. His ornamentis debet Christi pontifex refulgere, his coloribus exornari. linea, et bysfina stricta, mortificationem 236 carnis pretendit. enim vel linum, multiplici elaboratum contufione, et naturæ subtilitate deductum ac textum, in vestem proficit. Sic nullus Christo ornari poterit, nisi castigatis et mortificatis omnibus carnis passionibus : unde et bene stricta dicitur. Strictum enim, castum dicimus: e contra lascivum, dissolutum vocamus. Tunica tota hyacinthina, quæ aerio refulgebat 237 colore, cælestem designat conversationem: quæ tota erat hyacinthina, quia facerdos nihil debet curare terrenum: nemo enim, ait Apostolus, militans Deo, implicat se negociis secularibus, ut ei placeat, cui se probavit. Balteus sive cingulum, quo tunica hæc cum interiore, id est, linea, cingebatur, continentiam infinuat, quæ mater est et custos pudicitiæ, qua maxime ornari pontifices condecet: hanc, qui ingratus est Deo, perdit, sicut Job de talibus dicit: Balteum regum dissolvit, et

²³³ Fanon. This word is fupposed to be connected with the German fahne, meaning a piece of cloth (of wool or of linen), and hence, according to the various uses to which such a piece of cloth may be applied, a banner or ensign; a clerical vestment; a "corporal."

²³⁴ Hyacinthus . . . color aerius. See note 32, p. 10.

²³⁵ Coccus . . . dilettionem indicat. See note 188.

²³⁶ Compare note 106, p. 60.

²³⁷ Refulgebat . . erat . . . cinge-batur . . . induebatur, &c. From the use of these tenses of past time it is clear that throughout this portion of the treatise the author is speaking of the spiritual significance of the Levitical vestments, not of those worn in Christian ministry. It is not till somewhat later (see below p. 115) that he goes on to speak of these last.

præcingit fune renes eorum. Regum enim, id est, sanctorum sacerdotum, balteum, hoc est, pudicam continentiam dissolvit, id est, dissolvi permittit, cum de suis virtutibus extolli cœperint: et præcingit sune asperæ pænitentiæ renes eorum, ut incipiant suis casibus ingemiscere, qui aliorum lapsibus debuerant auxilio subvenire.

Superhumerale, quod Hebraice ephod dicitur, obedientiam mandatorum Dei fignificat, quo induebatur facerdos, ut meminerit præcepta Dei strenue quasi onus humeris impositum debere portare. Quod vero nomina patriarcharum inter facrificia et in humeris, sicut et in pectore, portabat, monetur per hoc sacerdos, ut priorum patrum sidem et exempla sequatur, ²³⁸ ut sidelium, qui sunt silii apostolorum, in suis orationibus meminerit, et ut ipsis eadem exempla sequenda proponat.

Rationale, quod erat in fronte ²⁸⁹ pontificis, defignat, quia paftor fapientia et doctrina debet præditus esse. Nam et ideo rationale judicii dicitur, quia debet rector ecclesiæ subtili semper examinatione bona malaque discernere, et quid vel quibus, quando et qualiter conveniat, studiose cogitare. Hoc enim quod dicitur, *Pones in rationale judicii doctrinam et veritatem*, ut videlicet habeat scientiam scripturarum, quo possit alios docere, et contradicentes arguere. Quadrangulum erat, propter quatuor Evangeliorum doctrinam: duplex, propter scientiæ et operis firmitatem. Mensura palmi, quod est digitorum extensio, designat discretionem in perseverantia bonorum operum.

Quatuor ordines lapidum, qui erant in rationali, nominibus patriarcharum insculpti, quatuor exprimunt principales virtutes, prudentiam, temperantiam, fortitudinem, justitiam. Terni in unoquoque lapides, sidem sanctæ Trinitatis, sive sidem, spem, et charitatem, demonstrant. Quæ omnia in pectore pontificis necessario esse debere, hujus ornamenti, id est, rationalis specie præmonetur. Tiara, quæ et cidaris et mitra vocatur, et contegebat et ornabat caput pontificis, admonet eum omnes sensus capitis Deo consecrare debere, ne vel oculi pateant ad videndum vanitatem, vel cæteri sensus, qui in capite vigent, iniquitati consentiant, et per illos intromissa delectatio incestet animi sanctitatem. Lamina aurea, divinæ majestatis atque potentiæ sigura est, quæ in fronte pontificis deportabatur, quia illa inessabilis Deitatis potentia cunctis, quæ creavit, supereminet: et idcirco, quasi cuncta

²³⁸ Ut priorum patrum fidem et exemplum sequatur . . . So St. Gregory, quoted at p. 58.

²³⁹ Rationale . . . in fronte. By "frons" | prima sui corporis parte.

is here meant not the "brow" or "fore-head," but the "front." Compare the expression used by St. Gregory (sup. p. 56) in prima sui corporis parte.

fanctificans, eximiam fibi fedem in fronte, hoc est, in mentis principalitate constituit.

Quatuor literæ in lamina scriptæ, quatuor sunt cornua crucis, totum mundum complectentis. Cruci enim Christi in omni creatura apex ²⁴⁰ conceditur, qua omnium sidelium frontes signantur.

Quod lamina semper in fronte pontificis esse vidébatur, ostendit, quia dignitatem, quam prætendit in habitu, exercere semper debet in opere, ut Domini placitum semper habere, et subditorum vota Domino idoneus sit semper offerre. Feminalia, quibus pudenda loca corporis tegebantur, continentiam a concubitu designant, quæ magnopere omnibus gradibus observanda præcipitur. Unde dicitur, ad velandam turpitudinem. Turpe est enim, sacerdotem nota lascivæ ætatis insamari, quem convenit velut in arce castimoniæ, ab omnibus suspici et venerari.

Quod vero feminalia ipfi fibi imponant, cætera Moifes: defignat, unumquemque fe à carnali concupifcentia refrenare debere. Deinde virtutibus fibi fubditos, quafi Moifem ministrum templi vestibus, exornare.

OF THE VESTMENTS OF CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD.

I. THE SANDALS.

Sandaliæ dicuntur soleæ. Est autem genus calceamenti, quo induuntur ministri Ecclesiæ, subterius quidem solea muniens pedes à terra, superius vero, nil operimenti habens, patet: quo justi sunt Apostoli à Domino indui. Significat autem, ministrum verbi Dei non debere terrenis incumbere, sed potius cælestibus inhiare, et prædicationem suam nulli occultare.

2. THE SUPERHUMERAL.

Post sandalias in Ecclesiæ vestimentis sequitur Superhumerale,²⁴¹ quod sit ex lino purissimo. Per linum quod ex terra sumitur, et per multos labores ad candorem ducitur, designatur corpus humanum, quod ex terra constat. Sicut ergo linum per multos labores ad can-

²⁴⁰ Apex. The highest point of anything, and so "the place of highest honour."

^{· 211} Superhumerale. He means the "amice" (amictus) as he had faid above, p. 111, Superhumerale quod amictum vocamus.

dorem perducitur, ita corpus humanum multis calamitatibus attritum, candidum et purum esse debet ab omni sorde peccatorum.

3. THE ALB.

Postea sequitur podéris, quæ vulgo Alba dicitur. Significat autem perseverantiam in bona actione. Hinc Joseph inter fratres suos, talarem tunicam habuisse describitur. Tunica usque ad talum, est opus bonum usque ad consummationem. In talo enim finis est corporis. Ille ergo bene inchoat, qui rectitudinem boni operis usque ad finem debitæ perducit actionis. Qui enim perseverarit usque in finem, hic salvus erit.

4. THE GIRDLE.

Deinde sequitur Zona, quæ cingulum dicitur, qua restringitur podéris, ne laxe per pedes disfluat. Per quam designatur discretio omnium virtutum: virtutes enim sine discretione, non virtutes, sed vitia sunt: nam virtutes in quodam meditullio sunt constitutæ.

5. THE STOLE.

Sequitur orarium. Orarium, id est, stola, dicitur eo quod oratoribus, id est, prædicatoribus concedatur. Admonet illum, qui illo induitur, ut memor sit, sub jugo Christi, quod leve et suave est, esse se constitutum.

6. THE DALMATIC.

Dalmatica quæ fequitur, ob hoc dicitur, eo quod in Dalmatia fit reperta. Usus autem Dalmaticarum à B. Silvestro Papa institutus est: nam antea colobiis utebantur. Colobium vero est vestis sine manicis. Significat autem in eo quod est sine manicis, unumquemque sidelem exercitatum esse debere ad bona opera exercenda. Cum ergo nuditas brachiorum culparetur, ut diximus, à B. Silvestro Dalmaticarum repertus est usus. Est autem vestimentum in modum crucis, monens, indutorem suum crucifixum esse debere mundo, juxta Apostolum, Mihi mundus crucifixus est, et eso mundo. Habet etiam in sinistra parte sui simbrias. Per sinistram partem præsens vita figu-

ratur, quæ diversis curis abundat: quæ curæ signisicantur per simbrias sinistræ partis. Per dexteram quæ simbriis caret, sutura vita exprimitur, in qua nullæ curæ solicitant animas sanctorum. Inconsutilis etiam est, quia in Ecclesia vel in corde uniuscujusque sidelis, nulla debet esse scissura, sed indiscissa side integritas. Sinistrum latus habet simbrias, quia actualis vita solicita est, et turbatur erga plurima. At dexterum latus non habet, quia contemplativa vita nihil in se habet sinistrum. Largitas 242 brachiorum, largitatem et hilaritatem datoris signissicat. Diaconus qui non est indutus Dalmatica, Casula circumcinctus legit, ut expédite possit ministrare, vel quia ipsius est ire ad comitatum propter instantes necessitates.

7. THE MANIPLE.

Mappula quæ finistra parte gestatur, qua pituitam oculorum et narium detergimus, præsentem vitam designat, in qua supersluos humores patimur.

8. THE CHASUBLE.

Cafula quæ fuper omnia indumenta ponitur, fignificat charitatem, quæ alias virtutes excellit. De qua Apostolus, commemoratis quibusdam virtutibus, ait: *Major autem horum est charitas*.

9. THE PALLIUM.

Pallium Archiepiscoporum super omnia indumenta est, ut lamina in fronte pontificis. Pallium nihil est aliud, nisi discretio inter Archiepiscopum et ejus suffraganeos. Pallium significat torquem, quem solebant legitime certantes accipere. Hoc etiam erat lamina illa, ut dixi, quam summus pontifex circa tempora serebat, in qua scriptum erat nomen Dei Tetragrammaton, id est, quatuor literarum, nur, Jod, He, Vau, et Heth. Est autem interpretatio, Jod, principium, He iste, Vau vita, et Heth passio, id est, iste est principium passionis vitæ. Passi igitur sunt multi ante Christum, sed nemo eorum per suam passionem hominibus vitam attulit: Christus vero, cujus sanguis in cruce susus

²⁴² All that follows from here to the end writers, quoted in this volume, especially (see of the chapter is a kind of cento from earlier notes 243, 244) from Amalarius.

est pro totius mundi redemptione, humano generi attulit vitam. Secundum alium doctorem, Jod principium, He iste, Vau et Heth vita interpretatur. Quod ita potest conjungi, Iste est principium et vita Christus. Vocabatur autem hoc nomen sanctum Domini, quod interpretatur ineffabile, non quod non fari, sed quod diffiniri, ut est, minime possit.

Stephanus natione Romanus ex patre Jobio, ut legitur in gestis Pontificalibus, constituit sacerdotibus Levitisque vestes sacras in usu quotidiano non uti nisi in Ecclesia. Hinc Hieronymus in libro 14. super Ezechielem, Porro religio alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitaque communi. Sudario solemus tergere pituitam oculorum et narium, atque fuperfluam falivam decurrentem per labia : fignificat fludium mundanæ [Leg. mundandæ] cogitationis. In manu sinistra portatur, ut ostendatur in temporali vita tædium nos pati superflui humoris. Varietas ²⁴³ Sandaliorum, varietatem fignificat ministeriorum. Episcopi et facerdotis pene unum officium est. At quia nomine et honore, discernuntur etiam et varietate fandaliorum, ut visibus nostris error auferatur. Episcopus habet ligaturam in suis sandaliis, quam non habet Presbyter. Episcopi est huc illucque discurrere per parochiam: ne forte cadant fandalia de pedibus, ligata funt. Presbyter qui domi hostias immolat, sublimius 244 incedit. Diaconus quia dissimilis est epifcopo in suo officio, non est necesse ut habeat dissimilia sandalia: et ipfe ligaturam habet, quia fuum est ire ad comitatum. Subdiaconus qui in adjutorio Diaconi est, et pene in eodem officio, necesse est ut habeat diffimilia fandalia, ne forte Diaconus æstimetur. Sandalia fignificant, quia prædicator neque cælestia debet abscondere, neque terrenis inhiare.

²⁴³ What is here faid of the fandals is identical, almost to a word, with a passage of Amalarius already quoted (p. 104). See note in loc.

²⁴⁴ Sublimius. This is fcarcely intelligible. In the parallel paffage of Amalarius (p. 104) we find fecurius, "more careleffly," "with

less of precaution" (i.e. without this ligatura). And this probably is the true reading here. A similar comparison supplies the correction, mundandæ for mundanæ, given above. Probably also in line 16 above, discernuntur should be read twice, as in the parallel passage.

XXXV.

B. IVO CARNOTENSIS.²⁴⁵

DE ECCLESIASTICIS SACRAMENTIS ET OFFICIIS SERMONES.

SERMO IN SYNODO DE SIGNIFICATIONIBUS INDUMENTORUM SACERDOTALIUM.

Quia fanctitas ministerii sanctitatem expetit ministrorum, quales ad sacerdotium promoveri debeant personæ, in superiori sermone breviter ex Apostolica institutione commemoravimus, sed in quo habitu ordinari vel ad altare accedere debeant, illi sermoni non inseruimus. De indumentis ergo sacerdotalibus, vel de pontificalibus, diligenter considerandum est, quid in moribus sacerdotum significet illa varietas vestium, quid sulgor auri, quid nitor gemmarum: 246 cum nihil ibi debeat esse ratione carens, sed forma sanctitatis et omnium imago virtutum. Sicut enim bona domus in ipso vestibulo agnoscitur, sic Christi sacerdos cultu sacrarum vestium ostendit exterius, qualis apud se esse debeat interius. Iste autem sacrarum vestium ritus, per Moisem sumpsit exordium: quamvis Christiana religio, plus intenta rebus quam figuris, sacerdotes suos non omnibus illis veteribus induit ornamentis.

§ 2. The Levitical Vestments and Insignia.

Inspiciamus ergo prius veterum ornamenta pontificum, vel quo ordine illis utebantur, vel cum ordinarentur, vel cum thymiama oblaturi sancta sanctorum ingrederentur. Deinde nostra cum illorum indumentis conferentes, quid simile, quid diffimile inter se habeant, et quomodo etiam in rebus significatis conveniant, attendamus. Duo

vision of the text into sections is that of the present editor.

²⁴⁵ St. Ivo (or Yvo) was born at Beauvais, and was a pupil of Lanfranc, then Prior of Bec. We first hear of him as Abbot of S. Quintin, in his native town, and afterwards as Bishop of Chartres (*Carnota*). He died A.D. 1115. See Cave, H. L. vol. ii. p. 160. The text is that of Hittorpius. But the di-

²⁴⁶ Note that at this period (close of eleventh century) gold and jewels are spoken of as decorations of Christian vestments, for it is of these last, evidently, not of Jewish vestments, that St. Ivo here speaks.

enim Cherubin propitiatorium adspiciunt, quia sacramenta utriusque testamenti ad divinæ propitiationis fidem intendunt; quæ in sacerdotio veteri sub multiplici est sacrificiorum velamine adumbrata, in novo autem testamento per unum verum persectumque est sacrificium completa. In ornamentis itaque utrorumque sacerdotum et sublimitas sacerdotii commendatur, et sacerdotum casta dignitas significatur, quatenus²⁴⁷ per exteriorem habitum discant, quales intra se debeant esse, qui vices illius veri summique Pontificis gerunt, in quo suit omnis plenitudo virtutum, quam profitentur exteriora ornamenta membrorum.

Sed jam ad id, quod proposuimus, veniamus: et primum, qualiter Moises Aaron et filios ejus, Domino jubente, ornaverit, et postea induerit, videamus. Sic enim legitur in Levitico (Lev. viii.): Et fecit Moises, sicut præcepit ei Dominus: et convocavit synagogam ad januam tabernaculi testimonii, et applicuit Moises Aaron fratrem suum et filios ejus, et lavit eos aqua, et vestivit eum tunica, et præcinxit eum zona, et vestivit eum tunica interiore, et imposuit ei superhumerale, et cinxit eum secundum fasturam humeralis, et imposuit super eum logion, et super logion manifestationem et veritatem, et imposuit super caput ejus mitram, et posuit super mitram ante faciem ejus laminam auream, in qua scriptum erat nomen Domini.

Notandus est ordo verborum. Licet enim de constituendo pontifice præcepisset Dominus, et elegisset, tamen vocatur Synagoga. Idcirco enim requiritur præsentia populi in eligendo sacerdote, ut sciant omnes, quia qui doctior est ex omni populo, qui omni virtute præstantior, hic eligi debet ad sacerdotium, et hoc cum consensu Ecclesse, ne qua postea retractatio, ne quis scrupulus remaneat, sed omnium testimonio commendetur, secundum Apostolum (1 Tit. iii.): Oportet episcopum bonum habere testimonium ab his qui soris sunt. Ita plebis testimonio approbatos primo lavat, postea induit. Moises quippe in hoc sacto typum legis gerit, qui ordinandos sacerdotes prius lavat, antequam induat. Nisse enim quis prius suerit per legis observationem probatus, non est ad sacerdotium promovendus.

§ 3. FIRST, THE LONG TUNIC OF LINEN.

Ita vero probatus, induitur tunica, quæ apud eos bysfina est, apud nos linea. Bysfus enim est genus lini candidissimi, et ad summum

²⁴⁷ Quaterus in mediæval writers is nearly equivalent to our own "to the end that."

candorem multa vexatione ²⁴⁸ et ablutione perductum. Significat autem perfectam carnis munditiam, fecundum illud quod in Apocalypfi legit (Apoc. xix.): Byffus funt justificationes sanctorum. Hanc muntro facerdotis ex se non habet, sicut nec linum ex se est candium, ut aptum siat indumentis pontificum. Forma est salutionibus redatis munditiæ, ut secundum Apostolum (I Cor. ix.), sacerdotes sem suam castigent, et in servitutem redigant: et præeunte gratia, sabeant per industriam, quod non potuerunt habere per naturam. Hæc vestis Græce ποδήγης, id est, talaris, appellatur, quia a collo usque ad talos extenditur: et ita est arcta, ²⁴⁹ et membris corporis contemperata, ut sua forma testisficetur, sacerdotem nihil habere dissolutum, nihil remissum, sed ad omne opus bonum esse expeditum.

§ 4. Second and Third, the Girdle and the Linen Drawers.

Hæc eadem vestis circa renes zona fortius adstringitur, ut castitas sacerdotis nullo incentivorum æstu dissolvatur. Quod bene significatur in quatuor coloribus, quibus zona illa variata erat, bysso, purpura, hyacintho, et cocco: quibus coloribus quatuor elementa significantur: 250 quorum complexione natura constat humana, quorum distemperantia sluxus carnis generat, niss medicinali cohibeatur continentia. Talium enim conjectores 251 naturarum, per byssum, quia de terra oritur, terram; per purpuram, quia sanguine cochlearum marinarum tingitur, aquam; per hyacinthum, quia colorem sereni aeris imitatur, aërem; per coccum, qui colore slammeo rutilat, significari ignem voluerunt. Quorum, ut dictum est, exuberantia in renibus maxime superssuos humores, pravi humores illicitos motus, generant; qui niss freno parsimoniæ reprimantur, castitatis dignitas in eis facili impulsu periclitatur. Ubi autem major est pugna, major est adhibenda custodia. Inde est, quod inter indumenta pontificalia 252 adhuc circa renes applicantur linea feminalia,

248 Multa vexatione, &c. Compare note

250 Quatuor elementa. This symbolism is spoken of by St. Jerome as having been learnt

251 Conjectores, i.e. Interpreters.

²⁴⁹ Ita est areta, &c. It is of the Levitical vestment that he is here speaking, and here (as throughout) he follows closely in the steps of S. Jerome. See the passage quoted in p. 12, sup. and compare note 6, p. 2.

by himself ab Hebræis. Vid. sup. p. 19, in fin.

²⁵² Pontificalia. This must refer to the Levitical pontifex (note 45, p. 26), or high-priest, for he says a few lines below, "feminalibus non utuntur novi sacerdotii pontifices:" and this being fo, adbuc must be understood as meaning "furthermore."

non tam ad velandam carnis turpitudinem, quæ jam solitis operta est vestimentis, quam propter signum castitatis conservandæ. Unde et Apostolus dicit (I Cor. xii.): Honesta nostra nullius egent: Quæ autem inhonesta sunt, his abundantiorem honorem circundamus. Feminalibus non utuntur novi sacerdotii pontifices, quibus est injuncta servandæ castitatis quotidiana necessitas, sicut est quotidie offerendi concessa potestas: cum pontifices umbræ servientes, expleta vice sun, seminalia sua solverent, tempore vicis suæ tamen ea induerent. Reliqua duo, poderis et zona, veteribus et novis sacerdotibus siunt indumenta communia: quamvis zona nostrorum sacerdotum non sit quatuor intexta coloribus, aut propter penuriam materiarum, aut propter absentiam artissicum: undecunque tamen sit, et hæc et illa unum gerunt temperantiæ typum.

§ 5. Fourth, the Tunic of Blue.

Sequitur quartum indumentum, tunica interior vel hyacinthina, qua et in veteri et in novo testamento soli utuntur pontifices. Duabus enim tunicis merito induitur pontifex, quia debet de thesauro suo proferre nova et vetera, i.e. legem intelligere secundum literam, quemadmodum ante adventum Christi observabatur, et secundum spiritum, quemadmodum post adventum Christi intelligitur. Unde et secunda tunica, interior appellatur, vel hyacinthina, cujus color cæli serenitatem imitatur: ut per hoc intelligatur, quia pontifex plus debet de cælestibus cogitare, quam de terrenis. Rectus quippe ordo est, ut primum studeamus munditiæ carnis, per quam veniamus ad munditiam cordis, quæ nos provehat ad intellectum divinitatis, juxta illud (Matt. v.): Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.

§ 6. Fifth, the Superhumeral, or Ephod. 253

Quinta vestis est superhumerale quæ Hebraice vocatur ephot. Hæc vestis, sacerdotalis simul et pontificalis apud nos est: apud Hebræos

ders. But in all other respects the amice and the ephod are as utterly unlike as two garments well could be; the latter being a close-fitting coat, shaped as may be seen in the picture of the Jewish high-priest among the illustrations of this volume. [Even Dr. Bock admits the entire absence of any resemblance between the two. Vol. ii. p. 20.]

²⁸³ By the "fuperhumeral" common to priests and bishops he means the "amice." Compare Hugo de S. Victor (quoted later in this volume), amicilus super humeros, quod nos superhumerale dicere possumus. The amice (a square piece of linen, see note 178, p. 96) has this in common with the Levitical ephod (superhumerale of the Vulgate, ἐπωμίς apud LXX) that a portion of it lay upon the shoul-

vero, tantum pontificalis, et apud eos eisdem est variata coloribus, * zona pontificalis, de qua dicitur in ordinatione pontificis: vit eum (de Moise loquens) secundum facturam humeralis. e fortes funt ad agenda opera, et portanda onera, quæ ex ne humeralis, suis ligaturis constringuntur, quia pontificem ntia et operibus justitiæ oportet esse constrictum, ut in eo .iveniatur diffolutum, nihil remissum. Quod vero significant . . . colores in zona, idem fignificant in superhumerali : quia quicquid sterrenis operamur, five in largitione, five in restrictione temporalium, totum fumimus ex contemperantia quatuor elementorum. Unde est quod quaternarius decies ductus, furgat in quadragenarium, quia elementorum quatuor abundantia legitime dispensata, quod significat denarius, ad verum perducit jubileum, qui exhibitione acquiritur bonorum operum. Quadragenarius enim numerus partibus fuis denominatis quinquagenarium facit. Quo numero in lege supradictus jubileus (Lev. xxv.), i.e. remissionis annus exprimitur, veram præfigurans libertatem, quam qui adeptus fuerit, nullam timebit ulterius fervitu-Huic bonorum operum fignificationi concinit, quod in humerali duobus preciofis lapidibus insculpta erant nomina duodecim patriarcharum, sex in uno, et sex in altero: quorum alter superpositus erat dextro humero, alter finistro. Nihil horum vacat a mysterio. Senarius enim, propter sui perfectionem, opera justitiæ significat: Nomina patriarcharum memoriam fanctorum, quam femper in exemplum bonorum operum habere debemus a dextris et a finistris, id est, in prosperis et in adversis, significant. Et ideo illa nomina in lapidibus scribuntur: quia quod in lapide sculpitur, vix aut nunquam Nec illud vacat a mysterio, quod pontifex cingitur inde aboletur. fecundum facturam fuperhumeralis, quia fecundum opera fua unicuique retribuetur. Quod autem nostrorum pontificum superhumerale non est tot coloribus intextum, nec est tam preciosis gemmis redimitum, nihil refert, cum Christiana religio veritati serviens, compendiosis figuris idem intelligi faciat, quod vetus observantia sumptuosis.

§ 7. SIXTH, THE RATIONAL OR "BREASTPLATE."

Postquam pontificis 254 verenda velata sunt suis indumentis, postquam

but not without a reference to those Christian pontifices or bishops (note 45) to whom the

²⁵⁴ Pontificis, i.e. the Levitical high-priest, | right of wearing a "Rational" (see note 256) was conceded.

cælestia jam cœpit meditari, postquam justitiæ operibus ornatus est, postquam utroque cingulo, ut in omnibus fortiter et perseveranter staret, confirmatus est, imponitur Rationale pectori pontificis, quod Græce logion dicitur, per quod fapientia, quæ in ratione confistit, indicatur. Imponitur Rationali manifestatio et veritas.²⁵⁵ Manifestatio ideo, quia non sufficit pontifici habere sapientiam, nisi etiam possit manifestare quæ novit, et reddere rationem de ea, quæ in nobis est, fide et spe. Veritas vero, quia non debet pontifex de suo corde prophetare, sed ea tantum quæ veritas habet, manifestare. Sunt autem adinvicem concatenata Rationale et Humerale: quia cohærere sibi invicem debent ratio et opera: ut quod mentis ratione concepimus, opere impleamus. Et notandus est ordo rerum: quia non prius Rationale, quam Humerale: quia non prius fapientia, quam opera: fed prius opera, deinde sapientia. Unde habetur in psalmo (Psa. cxviii.): A mandatis tuis intellexi: et de Domino Jesu dicitur (Act. i.), Quæ Jesus cæpit facere et docere. Deinde non prius manifestatio, quam Rationale: quia nemo docere debet quæ non novit. Huic ordini concordat propheta cum dicit (Ose. x.): Seminate vobis ad justitiam, et metite fructum vitæ, et illuminate vobis lumen scientiæ. In hoc pectoris ornamento duodecim lapides inferti erant, xII. patriarcharum nomina in se sculpta habentes: quia sanctorum patrum exempla pontifex semper debet habere in memoria, et secundum ea moderari facta sua. In duodenario autem numero lapidum, potest significari apostolica doctrina: quia et ipsi lapides, per quatuor ordines sunt distributi, et terni et terni in fingulis angulis Rationalis positi. Quod Apostolicæ doctrinæ bene congruit, quæ fidem Trinitatis per quatuor evangelia in omni parte mundi prædicavit. Hic ornatus folius erat pontificis, ficut et nunc 256 est apud eos, quibus eo uti concessum est, propter distantiam majorum et minorum facerdotum.

Roman See. In this comparison he follows the reputed Alcuin. See note 227, p. 111. Amalarius, on the other hand, regards this "pallium" as corresponding in fignificance to the "golden plate" of the high-priest. See note 195, p. 102. [Dr. Bock thinks that the Rational here spoken of was an actual jewel made in imitation of the Jewish Rational. This is not impossible. See Liturg. Gewänder, vol. i. p. 388, Jqq; and compare Honorius August. Gemma Animæ. lib. i. cap. ccxiii. et ibi notata.]

This is the literal rendering of the δήλωσις καὶ ἀλήθεια of the Lxx. St. Jerome (quoted at p. 22) tranflates them by "dostrina et veritas." Our own translators have preserved the original Hebrew words Urim and Thummim, of which "light and perfection" would probably be the nearest translation. See Smith's Dict. of the Bible in voc.

²⁵⁶ Sicut et nunc est, &c. By the Rational "conceded" to certain among Christian bishops he means probably the Roman pallium, worn by Western archbishops under privilege of the

JTH AND EIGHTH, THE "MITRA" AND THE GOLDEN PLATE.

ornato pontifice, 257 fuperponitur capiti ejus mitra, quæ alio ne cidaris vel tiara vocatur, quæ regnum quinque fensuum, 258 quo eminere pontifex debet, intelligitur. In capite enim usus habetur omnium corporalium fenfuum: quod cum bene regitur, caput viri, id est, Christus decenter ornatur. Et quia caput Christi Deus est, Lamina aurea superponitur, cui insculptum est nomen Dei, quod Hebræi vocant ineffabile (1 Cor. ii.): ut per hoc intelligatur, Deum ficut omnium conditorem, ita esse rectorem: et ad honorem et gloriam ejus esse referendum, quicquid a Domini facerdotibus bene fuerit dispensatum. Hæc indumenta, octo esse debere constituit Moises in Exodo: fed in Levitico de eisdem indumentis tractans, de octavo, id est, fæminalibus, tacuit. Unde Hieronymus in epistola ad Fabiolam, fcribit: Ubi refertur quomodo Moifes Aaron fratrem fuum vestimentis pontificalibus induerit, de folis feminalibus nihil dicitur, hac, arbitror, causa: quia ad genitalia nostra et verenda lex non misit manum, quia ipsi secretiora nostra confessione digna tegere debemus et velare, et conscientiam puritatis Deo judici servare. De cæteris vero virtutibus, fortitudine, justitia, humilitate, mansuetudine, liberalitate, possunt et alii judicare: pudicitiam fola novit conscientia, et humani oculi certi hujus rei esse judices non possunt, absque his, qui passim in morem brutorum animalium in libidinem feruntur. Unde Apostolus (I Cor. vii.): De virginibus autem præceptum Domini non habeo. Et in Evangelio cum Dominus de eunuchis voluntariis et non voluntariis ageret, addidit in fine (Matt. xix.): Qui potest capere, capiat. Tanquam diceretur: Feminalibus ego vos non vestio, nec impono alicui necessitatem. vult facerdos esse, ipse se vestiat, ipse se castitate muniat. ipfi affumamus feminalia, ipfi nostra verecunda operiamus, non quæramus alienos oculos: ita tegantur genitalia, ut cum intramus fancta fanctorum, nulla appareat turpitudo, ne moriamur.

high-priest, as is clear from what he says of the "lamina aurea" put upon his head, compared with what he fays below (§ 9) when nerable Bede, quoted above, p. 80 (§ 6).

Here again the Levitical i speaking of Christian priests and bishops, " nulli autem lamina aurea."

²⁵⁸ Regnum quinque sensum. Compare Ve-

& q. Distinctions in the Use of these Vestments.

Notandum vero est, quod minoribus sacerdotibus neque duplex tunica datur, neque humerale, neque rationale, neque lamina aurea, fed tantum poderis, et mitra, et zona, qua stringatur tunica bysfina. Funguntur tamen sacerdotio, sed non illa sublimitate, qua funguntur, qui omnibus octo indumentis decorantur. Novi quoque testamenti facerdotes non omnibus illis utuntur indumentis, quia nec duabus utuntur tunicis, nec rationali, præter folos pontifices: nulli autem lamina aurea, quia ficut dicit B. Hieronymus in supramemorata epistola, quod olim in lamina monstrabatur, nunc in signo crucis oftenditur. Auro enim legis, sanguis evangelii preciosior est. [Supra, p. 24, note 42.]

§ 10. VESTMENTS OF CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD.

Utuntur autem tunica linea, quæ poderis dicitur, vel talaris, quæ omnium figurat castigationem membrorum, et zona quæ tunicam stringit, quæ dissolutam et remissam prohibet esse castitatem. Utuntur et superhumerali, 259 per quod exiguntur opera justitiæ a sacerdote, quia non fufficit temperantia, et a malo abstinentia, quæ superioribus duobus indumentis figurabatur, nisi opera justitiæ et misericordiæ subsequantur. Unde et in Psalmo dicitur (Ps. xxxiii.; I Pet. iii.): Desine a malo, et fac bonum. Unde ipsum humerale poderi adstringitur. Utuntur et stola, quæ alio nomine orarium vocatur: qua vetus sacerdotium non utebatur. Hoc tanquam jugum bobus arantibus vel triturantibus collo juxta humeros fuperponitur, ut illud evangelicum ab eis impleatur (Matt. xi.): Tollite jugum meum super vos, et discite a me, quia mitis sum et bumilis corde: Jugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve. Hæc a collo per anteriora descendens, dextrum latus ornat et finistrum, ut doceat sacerdotem, per arma justitiæ a dextris et a sinistris, id est, in prosperis et adversis, debere esse munitum: quod ad fortitudinem pertinet, fine qua cæteræ virtutes facile expugnantur, et minime coronantur. 260 Unde dicit Apostolus (Heb. x.): Patientia vobis neces-

²⁵⁹ Utuntur et superbumerali. See above, | tor's crown (compare note 54, p. 32), which note 253.

²⁶⁰ Minime coronantur, i.e. win not the vic- unto the end.

the Lord bestoweth on them that are faithful

faria est, ut reportetis repromissiones: et in evangelio Dominus (Matt. stola cum zona poderis quibusdam nexibus colligatur: quia ntibus adjuvantur, ne aliquo tentationis impulfu moveantur. us indumentis superponitur casula,261 quæ alio nomine ocatur: quæ quia communis est vestis, charitatem significat .. xii.), quæ universis virtutibus superponitur: quia cæteræ es nihil fine ea utile operantur. Unde dicit Apostolus (1 Cor. 1: Et adhuc excellentiorem viam docebo vos. Aemulamini chari-.tem. Et quam inutiles absque ea sint cæteræ virtutes, subsequenter approbatur, cum præcipuas virtutes, scientiam scilicet linguarum, distributionem rerum propriarum, ipsum quoque martyrium, sine ea nihil esse confirmat. Et ideo prudentiæ ponitur loco, quia plenitudo legis est dilectio. Et quia mentibus bene compositis, et divino cultui mancipatis, frequenter subrepit acedia,262 oportet ut ad eam frequenter detergendam diligens adhibeatur vigilantia, qua ab oculis cordis emergens talis sæpe mundetur pituita. Unde in sinistra manu ponitur quædam mappula, quæ fæpe fluentem oculorum pituitam tergat, et oculorum lippitudinem removeat. Hæc quippe ornamenta, ut dictum est, non funt ipfæ virtutes, fed virtutum infignia, quibus tanquam fcripturis admonentur utentes, quid debeant appetere, quid vitare, et ad quem finem sua facta dirigere. Adjiciendum est supradictis, quia Levitæ suo modo utuntur supramemoratis indumentis: idem significantibus, quod fignificant in presbyteris. Utuntur Levitæ Dalmatica, quæ propter fui latitudinem curam proximorum fignificat, quod fignificabat in presbyteris casula: quia utrorunque istorum ministrorum, ad implendam dilectionem, eadem debet esse custodia.

§ 11. Special Vestments Worn by Bishops and Cardinals.

Utuntur episcopi et cardinales presbyteri sandaliis, quæ calceamenta sunt prædicatorum. Habent autem ad terram soleam integram, ne pes tangat terram: supra vero constat ex corio, quibusdam locis pertuso: 263 quia evangelium non debet terrenis commodis inniti, nec omnia evangelica sacramenta omnibus revelari, nec omnibus abscondi. Unde

²⁶¹ Cafula . . . charitatem fignificat.
Compare Rabanus Maurus (Cap. 21) quoted above at p. 91.

²⁸² Acedia. An imported Greek word, ἀκηδία, for the older ἀκήδεια, "careleffnefs." ²⁸³ See Bock Liturg. Gewänder, vol. ii. p. 12.

et Dominus discipulis ita dicebat (Matt. xiii.): Vobis datum est nosse mysterium regni Dei: cæteris autem in parabolis, ut videntes non videant, et audientes non intelligant. Hanc sandaliorum significationem propheta intelligebat, quando dicebat (Esa. lii.; Rom. x.): Quam speciosi pedes annunciantium pacem, evangelizantium bona.

Antequam induantur fandaliis, vestiuntur caligis byssinis vel lineis, usque ad genua protensis, et ibi bene constrictis: per quas significatur, quia debent rectos gressus facere pedibus suis: et genua debilia, id est, negligentiis resoluta, roborare, et sic ad prædicandum evangelium festinare.

§ 12. Unction of Hands and of Head in Ordination.

Unguntur præterea manus 264 presbyteris et episcopis, ut cognoscant se in virtute sancti spiritus hoc sacramento gratiam consecrandi accipere, et opera misericordiæ erga omnes pro viribus exercere debere. Episcopo vero specialiter caput ungitur, ut intelligat se esse illus vicarium, de quo dicitur in Psalmo (Ps. xliv.): Unxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo lætitiæ præ consortibus tuis. Accipiunt hac unctione claves regni cælorum, ut quæcunque ligaverint super terram, sint ligata et in cælis (Matt. xviii.): et quæcunque solverint super terram, sint soluta et in cælo: et quorum peccata detinuerint, sint detenta, et quorum peccata dimiserint, sint dimissa (Joan. xx.)

§ 13. PRACTICAL EXHORTATION.

His ita de ornatu sacerdotali et pontificali breviter prælibatis, admonendi estis, ut sicut sacramenta profunda audistis, sic ea studeatis et corde intelligere, et opere implere. Non enim auditores legis justi sunt apud Deum, sed sactores. Potest enim unusquisque vestrum intra se regale habere sacerdotium et sacerdotales ornatus, si quem abluerit et mundum secerit legis observatio, et si gratia baptismi et unctio chrismatis illibata permanserit, et si indutus duplicibus indumentis, literæ scilicet et spiritus, suerit; et si in his fortiter accingatur, ut sit castus

²⁶⁴ Unguntur manus. This ceremony is | tifical of Bishop Landulfus, given in this represented in the illustrations from the Ponvolume.

mente et corpore; si etiam superhumerali operum justificetur, si stola fortitudinis a dextris et a finistris muniatur, si plenitudine scientiæ, quam planeta fignificat, cumuletur: potest, inquam, ita ornatus intra Dei templum, quod ipse est, verum habere sacerdotium. Qui autem nec facris vestibus induti, nec honestis moribus ornati, ad altare Dei accedere præsumpserint, sicut filii Aaron, Nadab et Abihu, igne alieno, quem offerebant ante Dominum, confumpti funt (Lev. x.); ita isti non divina ordinatione, fed fua præfumptione facerdotium fibi ufurpantes, cum his, qui ad regales nuptias fine veste nuptiali intraverunt (Matt. xxii.), æternis ignibus funt cruciandi. Unde dicitur in Levitico (Lev. xvi.): Et dixit Dominus ad Moisem: Loquere ad Aaron fratrem tuum, ne intret omni hora in sancta interiora, ut non moriatur. Unde oftenditur, quod si inordinate intraret sancta sanctorum, non preparatus, non indutus facerdotalibus indumentis, non propitiato fibi prius Deo, morietur: et merito, tanquam qui non fecerit ea, quæ oportet fieri, antequam accedatur ad altare Dei. Ad omnes enim nos pertinet, nos omnes instruit lex Dei, ut sciamus quod debeamus accedere ad altare Dei, et offerre, scilicet ut deponamus vestimenta sordida, id est, carnis immunditiam, pravitatem morum, inquinamenta libidinum. Unde et in eodem Levitico, cum enumerasset Dominus vestes, quibus induendus erat Aaron et filii ejus, adjunxit (Exod. xxviii.): Vesties his omnibus fratrem tuum, et filios ejus cum eo, et cunctorum consecrabis manus, sanstificabisque illos, ut sacerdotio fungantur mihi. Sequitur: Et utentur eis Aaron et filii ejus, quando ingredientur testimonii tabernaculum, quando appropinquabunt ad altare, ut ministrent in sanctuario, ne iniquitatis rei moriantur. Ex his omnibus colligitur, quanta sit dignitas facerdotalis ministerii, et quanta esse debeat fanctitas ministrorum: 265

265 It will be seen by the passage above quoted, that St. Ivo, writing at the close of the eleventh century, enumerates the following as the vestments of Christian ministry:—I. Linen Tunic. 2. Girdle. 3. Superhumeral (i.e. Amice). 4. Stole. 5. Chasuble (or "Planeta"). 6. Maniple. He mentions also the dalmatic as worn by deacons in place of the Chasuble proper to priests. The vestments worn by bishops only, are the second tunic (§ 9), and (by some at least among them, note 256) the Rational, whether the pallium of archbishops, or a Jewel worn on the Breast. Bishops were distinguished also by sandals of a peculiar shape, and by buskins (caligæ) made of linen.

It will be observed that while he mentions the "Mitra," or linen cap of the Levitical priest, he is silent as to any similar ornament among the Christian vestments. The truth seems to be that in the eleventh century the "Mitra" had been already introduced as a distinctive vestment at Rome (Hefele, pp. 230, 231), and through Rome to particular churches in Germany and elsewhere. But it was not in St. Ivo's time regarded as one of the acknowledged vestments of Christian ministry. Of the "golden plate" he says distinctly that it was nowhere worn, "nulli lamina aurea" (§ 9).

quam qui habuerit, sacerdotii merito non carebit. Qui vero non habuerit, et sacerdotii officium usurpaverit, merito cum supra memoratis præsumptoribus interibit. Multa de sacerdotii dignitate, multa de indumentorum sacerdotalium mystica pulchritudine, vitantes prolixitatem sermonis, præterivimus: hoc intendentes, quia ad ædificationem morum, et ad utilitatem audientium ista sufficiunt.

XXXVI.

HUGO A SANCTO VICTORE.266

THE SACERDOTAL VESTMENTS OF CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

SERMO XIV. [Tom. 11. p. 222].

[HE preaches on the words of Pf. cxxxi. "Let thy priests (facerdotes) be clothed with righteousness." He is addressing his brethren of the clergy only.]

Oportet, fratres cariffimi, ut nos qui in domo Dei facerdotio fungimur, dignam facerdotis justitiam ducamus, et honestis in officio vestibus induamur, immo virtutes quæ per vestes facerdotales designantur, exerceamus. Quid namque prodest ornari vestibus, nisi ornemur virtutibus? Certe si videremus facerdotem sine facerdotalibus vestimentis missam celebrare, sine alba, sine stola, sine insula, multum miraremur, et cum horrore nimio monstrum tale detestaremur. Si ergo detestandus esset qui accederet ad altare sine vestibus, quam detestandus quam horrendus est qui accedere præsumit cum vitiis et sine virtutibus? Quantum distat inter vas quodlibet et cibum, tantum distat inter significants et significatum. Vestes significant, virtutes significantur. Vestes foris coram populo decorant, virtutes intus coram Domino ministrum commendant. Sicut igitur non audemus accedere ad altare sine vestibus, sic non præsumamus accedere sine virtutibus.

Videamus denique quæ sunt istæ vestes, et quæ per eas significentur virtutes. Sunt ergo vestimenta, interior linea, exterior scilicet alba, amictus super humeros, quod nos superhumerale dicere possumus, zona, stola, manipula, insula. Ante omnia debet sacerdos quotidiana vestimenta deponere, deinde manus abluere, et sic candida vestimenta sumere. Depositio quotidianorum vestimentorum significat veteris hominis depositionem; ablutio manuum, criminum consessionem; affumptio novorum vestimentorum virtutum exercitationem.

²⁶⁶ Born 1096, died 1140, A.D. He was Paris. The text which I have followed is Abbot of the Monastery of St. Victor, near that of Hittorpius.

Linea interior interius est, exterior exterius. Ista est in occulto, illa in manifesto. Ista latet, illa patet. Propterea interior significat munditiam cordis, exterior munditiam corporis.

Superhumerale quod supra humeros ponitur, ubi onera solent imponi, tolerantiam præsentium significat laborum, quæ nobis necessaria est si veri sacerdotes volumus esse. Unde de illis qui eam perdiderunt scriptum est (Eccl. xi.): Væ his qui perdiderunt sustinentiam. Et Dominus de laude patientiæ in evangelio ait: In patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras (Luc. xxi.). Sustineamus ergo, fratres, quicquid nobis acciderit adversum, ut sicut bona susceptimus de manu Domini, ita et mala sustineamus.

Zona, quæ lumbos circumdat, et vestimenta constringit ne diffluant, virtutem continentiæ infinuat, quæ fluxam luxuriæ nostræ lasciviam refrenat.

Stola, quæ collo imponitur, jugum fuave Domini exprimit, de quo Dominus in Evangelio ait (Matt. xi.): Jugum enim meum fuave est, et onus meum leve.

Sequitur manipula, quæ in brachio finistro dependet; quæ nihil aliud denotat sacramenti nisi quod pro cautela ibi ponitur, ne sacerdos aliquid in officio suo incaute et negligenter agat, sed omnia diligenter, sicut qui in conspectu Domini et sanctorum Angelorum consistit, perficiat. Significat ergo cautelam, per quam cavenda cavemus, et facienda facimus.

His omnibus minister Domini indutus, his omnibus adornatus, nondum est aptus officio sacerdotali, nec illud implere præsumit, nisi septimum, quod infula 267 dicitur, cæteris addatur et superimponatur. Istud vestimentum excellentius est cæteris, eminetque universis. Quam igitur virtutem per hoc significari dicimus nisi charitatem, de qua dicit Apostolus, Adhuc vobis excellentiorem viam demonstramus. Si linguis hominum loquar et angelorum, &c., quæ bene novit fraternitas vestra. Qui cum alia dona spiritualia et virtutes demonstrasset, tandem de charitate intulit dicens, Si linguis &c. O beata virtus, Charitas; et beatus solus qui in ipsa usque in sinem perseverat. Qui ergo cum aliis virtutibus charitatem habet, sacerdos est. Et qui etiam alias sine ista habet, sacerdos non est.

²⁶⁷ Infula. This is one of the few early inflances of the use of this word to designate one of the Christian vestments. It here means not a covering for the head (which

would be in accordance with the claffical usage of the word), but a chasuble. See below, note 268 in fin.

Habeamus igitur, si veri sacerdotes volumus esse, quod esse debemus. Habeamus interiorem lineam per munditiam cordis, exteriorem per munditiam corporis; Superhumerale per patientiam: zonam, per continentiam; stolam, per obedientiam; manipulum (sic), per cautelam; infulam 268 per charitatem fraternam. His etenim omnibus armati sanctè et relligiose perficiemus holocaustum Domini, et dicetur de nobis quod scriptum est, Vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium. Tales suerunt sancti quorum hodie sollennia celebramus. Tales, fratres charissimi, esse studiemus, ut et nos induamur justitiam, et sacti cum ipsis participes meritorum, sieri mereamur socii præmiorum. Quod per merita et intercessionem eorum nobis præstare dignetur, qui vivit et regnat.

268 In this passage, written some thirty years after that of St. Ivo last quoted, the enumeration of the Christian vestments corresponds nearly with his, with one apparent exception. He speaks of the two tunics, of the amice (which, he says, may also be called "superhumeral") of girdle, stole, maniple, but the last of the vestments, that which is "more excellent than the rest," which is "added to and superimposed" upon those first mentioned, which is typical of charity,

is with St. Hugo not "cafula," but "infula." The whole context of this passage points plainly to the conclusion that infula is here only another name for the chasuble. Such an interpretation is not in accordance with the classical usage of the term, but another passage of the same writer is conclusive as to his meaning. Cafula, quæ alio nomine Planeta wel Infula dicitur. [Speculum Eccl. lib. i. cap. 6, apud Dufresne.]

XXXVII.

HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS. 669

SACRED VESTMENTS AND INSIGNIA.

GEMMA ANIMÆ, LIB. I. CAP. 89.

ORIGIN OF THE VESTMENTS.

Apostoli et eorum successores in quotidianis vestibus et ligneis ²⁷⁰ calicibus missam celebraverunt: sed Clemens, tradente Petro Apostolo, usum sacrarum vestium ex Lege sumpsit: et Stephanus Papa in sacris vestibus missas celebrari constituit.

LIB. 1. CAP. 193. OF THE CLERICAL TONSURE.

Tonsura clericorum initium sumpsit ab usu Nazaræorum. Hi ex justu legis crines suos radebant, et in sacrificium Domino incendebant. Nazaræi autem dicuntur sanēti. Unde Apostoli ad exemplum eorum ministros Ecclesiæ docuerunt se ob signum tondere, quo recordarentur se Domino in sanctitate servire debere. Christus rex et sacerdos secit nos sibi et sacerdotes et reges. Pars capitis rasa est signum sacerdotale: pars crinibus comata signum regale. Sacerdotes quippe legis tiaram, id est, pileolum ex bysso in modum mediæ sphæræ rotundum, in capite portabant: reges aureas coronas gestabant. Ergo rasa pars capitis tiaram, circulus crinium resert coronam.²⁷¹

majorem partem librorum fuorum edidisse disertis verbis affirmat." Wilman, apud Patrol. tom. clxxii. p. 13. Ed. Migne.

²⁷⁰ This probably refers to the fame tradition as that implied in the faying of St. Boniface, quoted at p. 207. See note 209.

²⁷¹ In this Honorius follows closely upon S. Isidore of Seville, De Off. Ecc. vii. quoted at p. 68.

²⁶⁹ Very little is known concerning this writer, as will appear from the following. "Histoire de la Vie d'Honoré. Le titre de cet article énonce presque tout ce que nous savons de certain sur la personne d'Honoré." Hist. Lit. de la France, tom. xii. p. 165. "Honorius haud diu post annum 1152 obiisse videtur, quod facile conjicias de scriptore qui jam inter annos 1122 et 1125 se floruisse experience."

LIB. 1. CAP. 198. WHITE GARMENTS, WHY WORN. AND WHY SEVEN IN NUMBER.

Vestes sacræ a veteri Lege sunt assumptæ. Ideo autem ministri Christi vel Ecclesiæ in albis vestibus ministrant, quia angeli,272 æterni Regis ministri, in albis apparebant. Per albas itaque vestes admonentur ut Angelos Dei Ministros per castitatis munditiam in Christi servitio imitentur. Vestes vero, quibus corpus exterius decoratur, sunt virtutes, quibus interior homo perornatur. Septem autem vestes sacerdotibus ascribuntur, qui et septem ordinibus insigniti noscuntur, quatenus per septiformem Spiritum septem virtutibus resplendeant, quibus cum Angelis in ministerium Christi ornati procedant.

CAP. 201.

[After describing the preparatory washing of the hands, and combing of the hair, with the spiritual significance of each act, in capp. 199, 200, he proceeds as follows]:

THE AMICE.

Hinc Humerale,²⁷³ quod in Lege Ephot, apud nos Amictus dicitur, fibi imponit; et illo caput et collum et humeros (unde et Humerale dicitur) cooperit, et in pectore copulatum duabus vittis ad mammillas cingit. Per Humerale, quod capiti imponitur, spes cælestium intelligitur. . . . Hæc vestis est candida. . . .

CAP. 202. THE ALB.

²⁷² Compare S. Isidore Hisp. De Off. Ecc. viii. supra, p. 69. ²⁷³ For this identification of the "Amice" with the Levitical Ephod or Superhumeral, compare note 253, p. 122.

CAP. 203. THE GIRDLE.

Ex hinc Cingulo cingitur, quod in Lege Balteus, apud Græcos Zona dicitur. Per cingulum (quod circa lumbos præcingitur, et, Alba ne diffluat et gressum impediat, astringitur), mentis custodia, vel confcientia, accipitur, qua luxuria restringitur.

CAP. 204. THE STOLE, OR ORARIUM.

Deinde circumdat collum suum Stola, quæ et Orarium dicitur, per quam obedientia Evangelii intelligitur. . . . Cap. 205. Per Stolam quoque innocentia exprimitur. . . . Hac patriarchæ ante Legem utebantur, et primogenita dicebantur. Erat autem vestis sacerdotalis quam majores natu cum benedictione patris, ut Jacob ab Isaac, induebant, et victimas Deo, ut pontifices, offerebant. Unde dicitur, Vende mihi primogenita tua (Gen. xxv. 31). Et iterum "stola Esau." Stola dicitur missa ; et enim vestis candida pertingens ad vestigia, sed postquam cæpit portari Alba, mutata est, ut hodie cernitur Stola. et

CAP. 206. THE UNDER-GIRDLE.

Exhinc Subcingulum, quod perizoma vel Subcinctorium ^{275a} dicitur, circa pudenda duplex fufpenditur. Per hoc eleemofynarum fludium accipitur, quo confusio peccatorum contegitur. Hoc duplicatur quia primum animæ suæ misereri peccata devitando, deinde proximo necessaria impendendo, cuilibet imperatur.

CAP. 207. THE CHASUBLE.

Deinde Casula 276 omnibus indumentis supponitur (Leg. superponitur),

²⁷⁴ Stola dicitur missa. I can only suppose these words as saying that the word "stola" means "fent;" and as having reference to the Greek origin of the word, viz. $\sigma\tau\delta\lambda n$, which again is a paronym of $\sigma\tau\delta\lambda\lambda sv$, "to send." Honorius, like most of his contemporaries, was liable to make mistakes when dealing with Greek words.

worded, but its meaning appears to be this. By the word "ftola" he thinks was meant originally a full robe (as in fact was the flola

matronalis of classical times), not a narrow border-like vestment such as was called "fola" in his own time. And the change from the primitive "robe" to the later "stola" was made, he thinks, when the "alb" or white tunic became the recognised dress of Christian ministry.

²⁷⁵ a Subcinetorium. On this word fee note in the extracts from Innocent III. which follow.

²⁷⁶ Here again he follows S. Isidore. See note 130, p. 74.

per quam charitas intelligitur, quæ omnibus virtutibus eminentior creditur. Cafula autem quafi parva cafa 277 dicitur: quia ficut a cafa totus homo tegitur, ita charitas totum corpus virtutum complectitur. Hæc vestis et Planeta (quod error fonat) vocatur, eo quod errabundus limbus ejus utrinque in brachia sublevatur. [He then dwells on the mystical meaning implied in the fast that the Chasuble is gathered in two folds on the breast, and in three upon the arms.]

CAP. 208. THE FANON, 278 OR MANIPLE.

Ad extremum facerdos fanonem in finistrum brachium ponit, quæ et mappula et sudarium vocatur, per quod olim sudor et narium sordes extergebantur. Per hoc pænitentia intelligitur, quia quotidiani excessius labes extergitur.

CAP. 209. THE SEVEN VESTMENTS WORN BY BISHOPS ONLY.

Episcopus eisdem septem vestibus induitur, insuper et aliis septem redimitur, scilicet Sandaliis, Dalmatica, Rationali, Mitra, Chirothecis, Annulo, Baculo.

CAP. 210. THE SANDALS.

[He sets forth the various mysteries to be found in the various parts of the Sandal, in the upper and lower leather, the black and the white leather, the strings, and the seams. He ends all by saying]: Legis sacerdotes habebant Femoralia, quibus turpitudinem tegebant: Ecclesiæ sacerdotes sandalia portant, quia etiam aliis munditiam prædicant.

CAP. 211. THE DALMATIC.

Dalmatica a Dalmatia provincia est dicta, in qua primum est inventa. Hæc a Domini inconsutili tunica, et Apostolorum colobio, est mutuata. Colobium autem erat cucullata vestis, sine manicis,

²⁷⁷ See note 130, p. 74.

²⁷⁸ Fanon. See note 161, p. 90; and note 233, p. 113.

ficut adhuc videmus in monachorum cucullis ²⁷⁹ vel nautarum tunicis. Quod collobium a S. Sylvestro ²⁸⁰ in Dalmaticam est versum; et additis manicis infra sacrificium portari instituta. Quæ ideo ad Missam a pontifice portatur, ubi passio Christi celebratur, quia in modum crucis ²⁸¹ formatur. Hæc vestis est candida. . . . Hujus vestis manicæ sunt nostræ Gallinæ ²⁸² alæ.

CAP. 213. THE "RATIONAL" WORN BY BISHOPS.

Rationale 283 a Lege est sumptum, quod ex auro, hyacintho, purpura, unius palmi mensura erat factum. Huic Doctrina 284 et Veritas, ac duodecim preciosi lapides contexti, nominaque filiorum Israel insculpta erant, et hoc Pontifex in pectore ob recordationem populi portabat. Hoc in nostris vestibus præfert (Leg. præfertur) per ornatum qui auro et gemmis summis Casulis in pectore affigitur. Monet autem pontificem ratione vigere, auro sapientiæ, 285 hyacintho 286 spiritualis intelligentiæ, purpura patientiæ, in Christum, qui cælum palma 287 mensurat, tendere debere, Doctrina 288 et Veritate radiare, gemmis virtutum coruscare, duodecim Apostolos sanctitate imitari, totius populi in sacrificio recordari.

CAP. 214. THE EPISCOPAL CAP, OR MITRE. 289

Mitra quoque Pontificis [note 45, in fin.] est sumpta ex usu Legis.

²⁷⁹ Cuculla. Compare note 151, p. 86.

²⁸⁰ Compare note 210, p. 107.

²⁸¹ Compare note 165, p. 91.

²⁸² I am unable to explain this allusion. The words feem to point to some provincial use of the term "Gallinæ alæ," as a designation for sleeves of a particular shape. [In the following chapter, which for brevity's sake I have omitted, Honorius sets forth the mystical symbolism of the Dalmatic.]

²⁸³ It is clear from what follows that in the time that Honorius wrote, the use of a breast-plate, in imitation of the Levitical "breast-plate" or "rational," had in some dioceses been introduced. It is also evident that in the time of the reputed Alcuin no such jewel was known to be in use. See note 227, p. III. The passage of St. Ivo quoted at p. 124, and commented on in note 256, leaves

it doubtful whether he knew of any fuch ornament or no.

²⁸⁴ See note 255, p. 124.

²⁸⁵ Auro fapientiæ. For this fymbolism compare St. Gregory the Great, quoted at p. 59. See note 107.

²⁸⁶ Hyacintho . . . intelligentiæ. This fymbolism has its origin in the words of St. Jerome, quoted at p. 20, in fin. See note 30.

²⁶⁷ Qui cælum palma, etc. These words have reference, probably, to what he had said of the rational of the high-priest having unius palmi mensuram.

²⁸⁸ Compare note 255, p. 124.

²⁶⁹ Here for the first time [note 265, p. 129] we meet with mention of a mitra as one of the vestments of Christian ministry. It is still a cap made of linen only, as far as from this passage we can judge.

Hæc ex bysso conficitur, et Tiara [note 84, p. 52], Ydaros, 900 Infula, 2000 a Pileum, dicitur. . . . Mitra ex bysso facta, multo labore ad candorem perducta [note 106, p. 60], caput pontificis exornat. . .

CAP. 215. THE GLOVES, AND THEIR SYMBOLISM.

Chirothecarum usus ab epistolis 290b (Leg. apostolis) est traditus. Per manus enim operationes, per chirothecas designantur earum occultationes. Sicut enim aliquando manus chirothecis velantur, aliquando exactis chirothecis denudantur, sic opera bona interdum propter arrogantiam declinandam celantur, interdum propter ædificationem proximis manifestantur. Chirothecæ induuntur cum hoc impletur: Cavete ne justitiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus ut videamini ab iis (Matt. vi). Rursus extrahuntur cum hoc impletur: Luceat lux vestra coram hominibus ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent Patrem vestrum, qui in cælis est (ib. v.). Chirothecæ sunt inconsutiles, quia actiones pontificis debent rectæ sidei esse concordes.

CAP. 216. THE EPISCOPAL RING.

Annuli usus ex Evangelio acceptus creditur, ubi saginati vituli conviva prima stola vestitur, annulo insignitur (Luc. xv.). Olim solebant reges litteras cum annulo signare: cum hoc soliti erant et nobiles quique sponsas subarrhare. Fertur quod Prometheus quidam sapiens primus annulum serreum ob insigne amoris secerit, et in eo adamantem lapidem posuerit; quia videlicet sicut serrum domat omnia, ita amor vincit omnia: et sicut adamas est instrangibilis, ita amor est insuperabilis. Quem enim in illo digito portari constituit, in quo venam ut cordis deprehendit, unde et annularis nomen accepit. Postmodum vero aurei sunt pro serreis instituti, et gemmis pro adamante insigniti: quia sicut aurum cuncta metalla præcellit, ita dilectio universa bona

²⁹⁰ Ydaros. Sic libri impress. This may have originated in cydaris, for the more correct cidaris, which is probably the true reading here.

²⁹⁰ a Infula. Here clearly used in the sense which in liturgical writers it still retains, that of an episcopal cap, or mitre. Compare note 268, p. 153, where infula is used as the equivalent of casula.

^{290 b} There can be little doubt that Honorius wrote "apostolis." The text (Migne's) which I have here followed suggests the reading "episcopis." But this reading is contrary to sense; the other makes good sense but bad history, and is therefore probably the true one.

excellit: et ficut aurum gemma decoratur, ita amor dilectione perornatur. Pontifex ergo annulum portat, ut se sponsum ecclesiæ agnoscat, ac pro illa animam, si necesse suerit, sicut Christus, ponat, mysteria scripturæ a persidis sigillet, secreta ecclesiæ resignet.

CAP. 217. THE PASTORAL STAFF.

Baculus ex auctoritate Legis et Evangelii assumitur, qui et "vırga pastoralis," et "capuita," et "ferula," et "pedum" dicitur. Moyses quoque, dum oves pavit, virgam manu gestavit. Hanc ex præcepto Domini in Ægyptum pergens secum portavit, hostes signis per eam factis terruit, qui velut lupi oves Domini transgulabant. Gregem Domini de Ægypto per mare Rubrum hac virga eduxit: pastum de cælo, potum de petra, hac produxit; ad terram lac et mel fluentem, velut ad pascua, hac virga induxit. Nihil autem hæc virga fuit quam baculus pastoralis, cum quo gregem utpote pastor minavit (sic). Hic baculus apud auctores "pedum" vocatur, eo quòd pedes animalium illo retineantur. Est enim lignum recurvum quo pastores retrahunt pedes gregum. Cap. 218. In Evangelio quoque Dominus apostolis præcepit ut in prædicatione nihil præter virgam tollerent (Marc. vi.; Luc. ix.). Et quia episcopi pastores gregis Dominici sunt, ut Moyses et apostoli fuerunt, ideo baculum in custodia præferunt. Per baculum, quo infirmi sustentantur, auctoritas doctrinæ designatur. Per virgam, qua improbi emendantur, potestas regiminis figuratur. Baculum ergo pontifices portant, ut infirmos in fide per doctrinam erigant: virgam bajulant, ut per potestatem inquietos corrigant: quæ virga vel baculus est recurvus, ut aberrantes a grege docendo ad pœnitentiam trahat; in extremo est acutus, ut rebelles excommunicando retrudat, hæreticos velut lupos ab ovili Christi potestative exterreat. Cap. 219. Hic baculus ex offe et ligno efficitur, quæ crystallina vel deaurata sphærula conjunguntur. In fupremo capite infignitur; in extremo, ferro acuitur. . . . Per durum os, duritia Legis; per lignum, mansuetudo ecclesiæ, infinuatur; per gemmam sphærulæ, divinitas Christi. . . . Cap. 220. In sphærula est scriptum, HOMO, quatenus se hominem memoretur. Juxta ferrum est scriptum PARCE, ut subjectis in disciplina parcat, quatenus ipfe a fummo Paftore gratiam inveniat. Unde et ferrum debet esse retusum, quia judicium sacerdotis per clementiam debet esse delibutum.²⁹¹

CAP. 221 AND 222. OF THE PALLIUM AND CROZIER.

His Infignibus Archiepiscopus fulget. Insuper et Pallio pollet, ut fe Christi Passionem 292 populo præferre demonstret. In duabus quippe lineis Pallii, ante et retro, est purpureum fanctæ crucis fignaculum. Crux ante archiepiscopum portatur, quatenus Christum crucifixum sequi admoneatur. Pallium 293 vero pro aurea lamina est institutum, in qua summus Pontifex in Lege Dei nomen Tetragrammaton, id est quattuor literas, in fronte sua præferebat inscriptum. Quattuor quippe literæ illius Nominis, quattuor cornua crucis præmonstrabant, ficut nunc Pallium crucis modum repræsentat. Et quia hæc lamina aurea cum forma Crucis in fronte Pontificis portabatur, ideo preciosa Crux frontibus Christianorum chrismate impressa portatur. Pallium autem a folo Apostolico 294 datur, quia hæc dignitas a Romano 294 Pontifice jure datur. Quos enim Apostoli provinciis præfecerunt, Archiepiscopi; quos illi paganis prætulerunt, Episcopi, dicebantur; et Apostolorum successores Patriarchæ, Petri vero successor "Apostolicus" 294 nominabatur. Huic collata est potestas ab ecclesia archiepiscopos per provincias constituere, quod per Pallii largitionem accipitur. (Cap. 223.) Patriarchæ quoque et Apostolicus 294 Pallio utuntur, qui eodem officio præditi esse noscuntur. 295

CAP. 230. THE DEACON'S DALMATIC, STOLE, AND CHASUBLE.

Diacono . . . Dalmaticæ ufus conceditur . . . Huic

²⁹¹ In the four chapters (or rather fections) occupied in the original by this fubject of the "ftaff," I have omitted a good deal which was of no importance to the prefent work. Here, as in other parts of this work, any omifion of this kind is indicated by a dotted line. For a further account of the staff and its fymbolism, see the extracts from Innocent III. which follow.

²⁹² Pallium . . . Passionem. This symbolism refers to the purple crosses upon the archiepiscopal pallium.

²⁹³ Pallium pro lamina. So Alcuinus quoted at p. 117.

²⁹⁴ Apostolicus. See note 174, p. 95.

²⁹⁵ From subsequent chapters of this treatise we learn that in Honorius' time the minor orders (below the subdeacon) wore three facred vestments (superhumerale, tunica talaris, balteus: see Cap. 226), and the subdeacon five, viz. the three last mentioned and in addition to them, the subsile, quod et stricta tunica, and the sudarium or maniple, see Cap. 229. And here, too (Cap. 227), we meet with mention of the cappa as the proper vestment of the cantores. ['Cappa propria est vestis cantorum, quæ pro tunica hyacinthina Legis mutuata est.']

stola in sinistro humero ponitur, et trans scapulas ad dextrum latus reflectitur, quatenus jugo Christi activam vitam subdat, et per pii laboris exercitium ad contemplativam perficiat. Cap. 231. Cum Diaconus casulam 296 portat tunc prædicatores significat.

CAP. 235. VESTMENTS, WHY LOOSE AND LARGE.

Clericorum . . . vestis est laxa, quia clericalis vita debet esse in eleemosynis et bonis operibus larga. 296 a

²⁹⁶ With this mention of the chasuble as occasionally worn by deacons, compare note 189, p. 100, and Innocentius III. Myst. Miss. lib. i. cap. 5. From the latter we learn that on fast-days the deacon wore a chasuble gathered up in folds (complicata) on his left shoulder.

²⁹⁶a In the passage of Honorius above quoted we find proof of a considerable development of the Christian vestments here for the first time (as far as I am aware) formally recognised. The subdeacon has now [note 295] five distinct vestments, the yet inferior orders three; the deacon (as we may gather by inference) six; the priest (Cap. 193, p. 135 sup.) seven; the bishop source (Cap. 209, p. 137). St. Hugo, last quoted, speaks

only of the priest's vestments, those peculiar to bishops not being then in question, apparently. But St. Ivo [note 265, p. 129], speaks of but fix vestments worn by priests, and of three others (fecond tunic, caligæ, and fandals) worn by bishops; some of whom, however, are spoken of as wearing a rational [note 256], and, if archbishops, a pallium. I may add that the word infula, has now (note 200 a) acquired its later technical meaning of a mitre; that the mitre itself is now for the first time spoken of as one of the distinctive episcopal vestments (note 289), and that the gloves (which had been worn for convenience, especially in Gaul and Germany, from very remote times) are also now raised to the same dignity.

XXXVIII.

INNOCENTIUS III. PAPA.297

VESTMENTS OF THE LAW AND OF THE GOSPEL.

DE SACRO 298 ALTARIS MYSTERIO, LIB. 1.

[In the 9th chapter of this Treatise the Author had spoken of the points of resemblance, and those of difference, in the offices of Bishop and of Presbyter. In the 10th and following chapters he pursues this subject in its application to the distinctions of ministering dress. He writes as follows]:

THE SIX VESTMENTS WORN BY PRESBYTERS.

Hæc autem communitas et specialitas potestatum inter Episcopos et Presbyteros ipso numero communium et specialium vestium designatur. Sex autem sunt indumenta communia Episcopis et Presbytéris: videlicet Amictus, Alba, Cingulum, Stola, Manipulus et Planeta. 299 Quia nimirum sex sunt in quibus communis Episcoporum et Presbyterorum potestas consistit, videlicet catechizare, baptizare, prædicare, consicere, 300 solvere et ligare.

THE NINE VESTMENTS WORN BY BISHOPS ONLY.

Novem autem funt ornamenta Pontificum specialia: videlicet, Ca-

^{297 &}quot;Innocentius III. natione Campanus, patria Anagninus . . . a Clemente III. in cardinalium album cooptatus. Anno 1198 die 8 Januarii Pontifex Romanus electus est, annos natus 37. . . Anno 1215 generale Concilium Lateranum celebravit, in quo monstrosum Transubstantiationis sigmentum inter sidei articulos reposuit."—Cave, Hist. Lit. vol.ii.

²⁹⁸ The text is that of the Opera D. Inno-

centii Pont. Max., published at Cologne in 1552.

²⁹⁹ He uses here the older name for the vestment, commonly known as the casula or "chasuble."

³⁰⁰ Conficere. The word ordinarily used by Western writers with the meaning "to consecrate" the holy elements, chrism, etc.

ligæ, Sandalia, Succinctorium, 301 Tunica, Dalmatica, Mitra et Chirothecæ, Annulus et Baculus. Quia munia novem funt in quibus fpecialis Epifcoporum potestas consistit, videlicet clericos ordinare, Virgines benedicere, Pontifices confecrare, manus imponere, Basilicas dedicare, degradandos deponere, synodos celebrare, Chrisma conficere [Note 300], vestes et vasa consecrare.

THE PALLIUM, BY WHOM WORN.

Pallium autem Metropolitanorum et Primatum et Patriarcharum est proprium, ut scilicet per illud a cæteris Episcopis discernantur, et privilegiatam obtineant dignitatem. Hoc ergo tam in novo quam in veteri testamento legitur constitutum ut Pontifices præter communes vestes habeant speciales. Sed ibi erant quattuor communes et quattuor speciales, hic autem fex funt communes, novem autem speciales. Id enim mystica ratio postulabat. Nam illæ datæ sunt carnalibus et mundanis: hæ autem datæ funt spiritualibus et perfectis. Quaternarius enim convenit carni propter quattuor humores, et Mundo propter quattuor elementa. Senarius autem perfectis, quia numerus est perfectus, qui redditur suis partibus aggregatis.302 Unde sexto die perfecit Deus cælum et terram et omnem ornatum eorum. Novenarius spiritualibus, quia novem funt ordines qui secundum prophetam per 1x species lapidum designantur. Quindecim ergo sunt ornamenta pontificis [note 45, p. 26] quindecim gradus virtutum ipfo numero designantia, quos per quindecim Cantica graduum Psalmista distinxit. Vestes enim facerdotales virtutes fignificant, quibus debent facerdotes ornari, secundum illud propheticum: Sacerdotes tui induantur justitia, et sancti tui exultent.

[In the chapters immediately following (Cap. 11 to 32), the Writer describes in detail the Levitical Vestments, and states what he believes to be their mystical significance. This done, he proceeds to speak of the Vestments of Christian Ministry, explaining their symbolism under two aspects, sirst in respect of Christ the true High-priest, and secondly in respect of those who are members of Christ here on earth.]

³⁰¹ Succinstorium. Compare note 313, p. 153 and Durandus there quoted.

³⁰² Durandus, who transfers much of this treatife word for word into his own pages, and this about a "perfect number" amongst the rest,

adds by way of explanation, "Nam cum unum duo et tres dicuntur, senarius numerus impletur: vel quia in tribus partibus dividitur, id est, in sexta tertia et dimidia, videlicet in uno, duobus, et tribus."—Rat. D. O. Lib. iii.

CAP. 33. CHRISTIAN VESTMENTS GENERALLY.

Vestes autem evangelici sacerdotis aliud designant in Capite aliud figurant in Membris. Nam et Caput et Membra facerdotis nomine nuncupantur. Ad Caput enim dicit Psalmographus: Tu es sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech. Ad Membra vero dicit Apostolus: Vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sancta, populus acquisitionis. Prius ergo exponenda sunt earum mysteria juxta quod Capiti congruunt, ac demum fecundum quod Membris conveniunt.

CAP. 35. OF THE VESTMENTS IN RESPECT OF CHRIST.

Pontifex ergo Altaris officio Capitis sui Christi, cujus membrum est, repræsentans personam, dum pedibus assumit sandalia, illud incarnationis Dominicæ infinuat calceamentum de quo Dominus inquit in Pfalmo: In Idumæam extendam calceamentum meum, id est, in gentibus notam faciam incarnationem meam. Venit enim ad nos calceata Divinitas, ut pro nobis Dei filius facerdotio fungeretur. Per ligulas quibus ipfa pedibus fandalia constringuntur illud idem accipimus quod per corrigiam calceamenti Joannes Baptista significavit, cum ait: Cujus non sum dignus corrigiam calceamenti solvere. Unionem ergo ineffabilem, copulamque indiffolubilem, quibus Verbi Divinitas fe carni nostræ conjunxit, per fandaliorum corrigias intelligimus. Mediantibus vero caligis pedes fandaliis conjunguntur, quoniam anima mediante carni Divinitas est unita. Sicut enim pes corpus sustentat, ita Divinitas mundum gubernat. Unde ait Pfalmista: Adorate scabellum pedum ejus, quoniam sanctum est (Pf. xcviii.).

CAP. 35. THE AMICE.

Amictus autem, quo facerdos caput 303 fuum obnubit, illud fignificat quod in Apocalypsi describitur, Angelum Dei fortem descendisse de cælo amictum nube (Rev. x.). Et in Esaia: Ecce Dominus

³⁰³ AmiEtus quo caput obnubit. He alludes, | too, the allufion in Durandus: AmiEtus, pro apparently, to the mode of putting on the amice referred to in note 178, p. 96. Hence, And more to the same effect in Cap. 2.

afcendet fuper nubem candidam. Veniens autem ad falvationem mundi Dei Filius, magni confilii Angelus, amictus est nube dum divinitatem abscondit in carne. Nam caput viri Christus, caput Christi Deus. Hoc ergo carnis latibulum amictus sacerdotis significat. Quod per illam syndonem expressius designatur, qua summus Pontifex 304 caput obducit. Et pulchre quidem quod per calceamentum pedum hoc ipsum per amictum capitis designatur, quia divinitas in carne latuit et per carnem innotuit. Nam cum notus esset in Judæa Deus, et in Israel magnum nomen ejus, in Idumæam extendit calceamentum suum, et ante conspectum gentium revelavit justitiam suam.

CAP. 36. THE ALB.

Alba lineum vestimentum longissime distans a tunicis pelliceis quæ de mortuis animalibus [Note 30, p. 20] siunt, quibus Adam vestitus est post peccatum, novitatem vitæ significat, quam Christus et habuit et docuit et tribuit in baptismo, de qua dicit Apostolus: Exuite veterem hominem cum actibus suis, et induite novum hominem qui secundum Deum creatus est. Nam et in transsiguratione resplenduit facies ejus sicut sol, et vestimenta ejus sunt sacta alba sicut nix. Semper enim vestimenta Christi munda suerunt et candida, quia peccatum non secit, nec inventus est dolus in lingua ejus.

CAP. 37. THE GIRDLE.

Zona facerdotalis illud fignificat quod Joannes Apostolus ait: Conversus vidi similem filio hominis præcinstum ad mamillas zona aurea. Per zonam auream persecta Christi charitas designatur: quam dicit

vanti), is quoted as De confecratione fummi Pontificis. The earliest medal on which this later title of Pontifex Maximus appears, is one of Martin V. [MARTINVS. V. COLVMNA. PONTIFEX MAXIMVS.] fed. 1417-1413; the earliest coin, one of Paul II. (1464-1421), struck at Avignon [PAVLVS PP. II. PONT. MAX. A. I.] These are represented in a work, now of great rarity, the Antiquiores Pontificum Romanorum Denarii, studio et cura Benedicti Florovantis. 4to, Romæ, 1734. For the earlier history of the word Pontifex, see note 45, p. 26.

³⁰⁴ By "fummus Pontifex" is here meant the Pope, more exactly described as Romanus Pontifex in Cap. 53 below, where see more concerning the "orale" which is the findon or vestment of fine linen here referred to. The title, Pontifex Maximus, which is now the official title of the Bishop of Rome, nowhere occurs in the writings of Innocent III. himself, as far as I have observed. The heading of Sermo II. "In consecratione Pontificis Maximi," so given in the Cologne edition of 1552, is of course an editorial heading only, and by other Roman writers (as e.g. Floro-

Apostolus supereminentem scientiæ charitatem Christi, serventem in corde, radiantem in opere. Cujus succinctorium 305 illud significat quod Esaias de Christo loquens prædixit (Esa. xi.): Erit justitia cingulum lumborum ejus, et sides cinctorium renum ejus. (Ps. 1.): Nam justus Dominus, et justitias dilexit, æquitatem vidit vultus ejus. (Ps. cxliv.): Fidelis Dominus in omnibus verbis suis, et sanctus in omnibus operibus suis. Duæ summitates illius duæ sunt partes naturalis justitiæ, quam Christus et secit et docuit: Quod tibi vis non sieri, alteri ne seceris; sed quæcunque vultis ut faciant vobis homines, et vos sacite illis.

CAP. 38. THE STOLE.

Stola, quæ super amictum collo sacerdotis incumbit, obedientiam et servitutem significat, quam Dominus omnium propter salutem servorum subivit (Phil. ii.): Nam cum in sorma Dei esset non rapinam arbitratus est esse se æqualem Deo. Exinanivit enim seipsum, sormam servi accipiens, sactus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem Crucis. Cautam quippe mortalitatis nec contraxit origine, nec commissi in opere, quia quod non rapuit hoc exoluit [sort. exsolvit]. Dedit enim illi calicem pater, non judex; amore, non ira; voluntate, non necessitate; gratia, non vindicta. Hic est ille Jacob qui parens præcepto patris Isaac, et consilio matris suæ Rebeccæ, servivit Laban, ut Rachael et Lyam duceret in conjugium.

CAP. 39. THE (SECOND) TUNIC.

Tunica poderis, quæ hyacinthini coloris erat in veteri sacerdotio, tintinnabulis et Malis Punicis ab inferiori parte pendentibus, ut Pontifex totus vocalis incederet, cælestem Christi doctrinam infinuat. Cujus notitiam habuerunt homines quibus Deus per prophetam ait (Esa. xl.): In montem excelsum ascende tu qui evangelizas Sion. Præcipue tamen hanc habuit tunicam evangelicæ textrix doctrinæ, Sapientia Dei Jesus Christus, et dedit illam Apostolis suis: Omnia, inquit, quæcunque audivi a Patre meo nota seci vobis. Hanc ergo significavit illa tunica Domini quam milites scindere noluerunt, eo quod esset inconsutilis, desuper contexta per totum: damnum fore maximum existimantes si qui doctrinam evangelicam hæresibus scindere moliantur.

³⁰⁵ Succinetorium. See Cap. 52, quoted below, and note 313, p. 153.

CAP. 40. THE DALMATIC.

Super hanc tunicam Pontifex [note 45] vestit Dalmaticam, quæ sui orma latam et largam misericordiam Christi significat, quam ipse præ cæteris et docuit et impendit. Estote, inquit, misericordes sicut et pater vester misericors est. Beati namque misericordes quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur. Judicium vero sine misericordia siet ei qui non facit misericordiam, quia misericordia superexultat judicium (Jas. ii.): Ergo dimittite et dimittetur vobis; sicque, inquit, orabitis: Dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Hic est ergo Samaritanus ille, proximus noster, qui fecit nobiscum misericordiam, superinfundens vulneribus nostris vinum et oleum. Nam per viscera misericordiæ sue visitavit nos Oriens ex alto. Qui non ex operibus justitiæ quæ secimus nos, sed secundum misericordiam suam salvos nos secit. Qui pro peccatoribus venit ut de peccatis veniam indulgeret. Misericordiam, inquit, volo, et non sacrificium.

CAP. 41. THE GLOVES.

Chirothecæ funt hædorum pelliculæ, quas Jacob manibus Rebecca circumdedit, ut pilofæ manus majoris 305 a fimilitudinem exprimerent. Pellis hædi fimilitudo peccati quam Rebecca mater, id est, Spiritus fancti gratia, manibus veri Jacob, id est, operibus Christi circumdedit: ut fimilitudinem majoris, id est, prioris Adæ, Christus exprimeret. Christus enim similitudinem peccati sine peccato suscepti, ut incarnationis mysterium diabolo celaretur. Nam ad similitudinem peccatorum esuriit, sitivit, doluit et expavit, dormivit et laboravit. Unde cum jejunasset quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus, ac postea esuriisset, accedens ad eum diabolus eum ad similitudinem prioris Adæ tentavit. Sed quibus primum vicerat, eisdem modis victus est a secundo.

CAP. 42. THE CHASUBLE.

Cafula vel Planeta magni Sacerdotis est universalis Ecclesia, de qua dicit Apostolus: Quotquot in Christo baptizati estis Christum induistis. (Gal. iii.) Hoc est illud Aaron vestimentum cujus in oram descendit

³⁰⁵ a Majoris, i.e. of the elder brother, viz. Efau.

unguentum: sed a capite descendit in barbam, et a barba descendit in oram. Quoniam de plenitudine Spiritus ejus nos omnes accepimus, primum Apostoli, postmodum cæteri. Quod autem casula, cum integra sit et integra, extensione manuum in anteriorem et posteriorem partem quodammodo dividitur, designat et antiquam ecclesiam, quæ passionem Christi præcessit, et novam, quæ passionem Christi subsequitur. Nam et qui præibant, et qui sequebantur, clamabant dicentes, Osanna silio David. Benedistus qui venit in nomine Domini.

CAP. 43. THE MANIPLE.

Quod facerdos manipulum portat in læva, designat quod Christus bravium 306 obtinebat in via. Per manipulum 307 enim præmium designatur, juxta quod legitur (Ps. cxxv., cxxvi.): Venientes autem venient cum exultatione, portantes manipulos suos. Per lævam vita præsens accipitur, juxta quod scriptum est, Læva ejus sub capite meo, et dextra illius amplexabitur me. Christus autem simul fruebatur et merebatur. Fruebatur in patria, 308 merebatur in via. Nam simul comprehendebat, et stadium percurrebat: quia simul erat in patria et in via. Nemo, inquit (Joan. iii.), ascendit in cælum, nist qui de cælo descendit, silius hominis qui est in cælo.

CAP. 44. THE MITRE.

Mitra Pontificis illud fignificat quod Propheta loquens de Filio dicit ad Patrem (Ps. viii.): Gloria et honore coronasti eum, Domine, et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum. Hoc est itaque illud Nomen (Phil. ii.) quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine Jesu omne genu slectatur,

³⁰⁶ Bravium, equivalent to βεαβείου. The prize of one who conquers in the stadium. Omnes currunt, sed unus accipit bravium. 1 Cor. ix. 24. Compare Phi. iii. 14.

manipulus was a handful, and hence various fecondary meanings, as, α a bundle of hay, or of corn, "a fheaf" (fo in the Psalm above quoted, and again in Ps. cxxvii., cxxviii). β a "handful" of men, acting together as one body, and so a "company" in the military sense of the word. [Others connect this

with what follows.] γ . Any other "handful," as a cloth held in the hand, in which fense manipulus, as a later ecclesiastical term, has taken the place of the older mappula. [The military sense noticed under β . may have arisen from the use of such a piece of cloth as a Pennon. Compare note 233 as to the meanings of Fanon.] I know of no instance of the word being used as equivalent to præmium, a meaning which Innocent may perhaps have inferred from this Psalm which he quotes.

³⁰⁸ In patria, that is, "in heaven."

cælestium terrestrium et infernorum. Nam et in aurea lamina Cydaris Pontificalis sculptum erat nomen Domini Tetragrammaton, cujus mysterium supra prælibavimus. Per Mitram ergo capitis Christi summam illam honoriscentiam intelligimus, quæ propter divinitatem debetur humanitati. Nam propter pedem adoratur scabellum. Adorate, inquit (Ps. xcviii.), scabellum pedum ejus, quia sanstum est.

CAP. 45. THE STAFF.

Virga Pontificis Christi potestatem significat. De qua dicit Psalmista (Ps. xliv. 7): Virga resta est virga regni tui. Quia dilexisti justitiam et odisti iniquitatem, propterea te unxit Deus, Deus tuus. Propter quod et alibi dicit: Reges eos in virga ferrea (Ps. ii.). Verum potestas Christi non solum virga sed et baculus est; quia non solum corripit sed et sustanta. Unde Psalmista (Ps. xxiii.), Virga tua et baculus tuus, ipsa me consolata sunt.

CAP. 46. THE EPISCOPAL RING.

Annulus digiti donum Spiritus Sancti fignificat. Digitus enim articulatus atque distinctus Spiritum Sanctum infinuat, secundum illud (Exod. viii.): Digitus Dei est hic. Et alibi: Si ego in digito Dei esicio dæmonia, filii vestri in quo esiciunt? 309 (Luc. xi.) Annulus aureus et rotundus persectionem donorum ejus significat, quæ sine mensura Christus accepit, quoniam in eo plenitudo divinitatis habitat corporaliter. Nam qui de cælo venit super omnes est. Cui Deus non dedit Spiritum ad mensuram: Super quem videris Spiritum, inquit (Joan. i.), descendentem et manentem, hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu Sancto. Nam (Esa. xi.) requiescit super eum Spiritus sapientiæ et intellectus, etc. Ipse vero secundum differentes donationes distribuit: Alii, secundum Apostolum (1 Cor. xii.), dans sermonem scientiæ, alii gratiam sanitatum, alii operationem virtutum, etc. Quod et visibilis pontifex imitatur, alios in Ecclesia constituens Sacerdotes, alios Diaconos, alios Subdiaconos, et hujusmodi.

[In Cap. 47 mention is made of the five Pfalms (81, 84, 85, 115,

mory, and has taken the beginning of his quo-

and 129 of the Vulgate), and of certain Prayers, to be faid by the Bishop when about to celebrate Mass. He then (Cap. 48, fqq.) proceeds with the subjects of the vestments, and enumerates then anew, declaring the spiritual significance of each in respect of them who are "members of Christ."]

CAP. 48. THE SANDALS AND STOCKINGS. 310

Inter hæc pedes pontificis, in præparatione evangelii pacis, caligis et fandaliis calceantur, quorum pulchritudinem admirabatur propheta cum diceret, Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem, evangelizantium bona. Sandalia vero de subtus integram habent soleam, desuper autem corium fenestratum,311 quia gressus prædicatoris debent subtus esse meniti ne polluantur terrenis, secundum illud: Excutite pulverem de pedibus vestris (Matt. x.), et sursum aperti, quatenus ad cognoscenda cælestia revelentur, secundum illud propheticum: Revela oculos meos et considerabo mirabilia de lege tua (Ps. cxviii.). Quod autem sandalia quibufdam locis aperta, quibufdam claufa funt, defignat quod Evangelica prædicatio nec omnibus revelari, nec omnibus debet abscondi. Sicut criptum est (Mar. iv.): Vobis datum est nosse mysterium regni Dei, cæteris autem in parabolis. (Matt. vii.): Nolite sanctum dare canibus, nec margaritas spargatis ante porcos. Prius autem caligis induitur usque ad genua protensis, ibique constrictis, quia prædicator pedibus suis rectos facere gressus, et genua debilia roborare, debet. Nam qui fecerit et docuerit, hic magnus vocabitur in regno cælorum.

[In Cap. 49 he notices the washing of the hands which forms part of the preparation. He then proceeds as follows]:

CAP. 50. THE AMICE.

Lotis itaque manibus affumit Amictum, qui fuper humeros circum-

was employed (above p. 127) by St. Ivo. Dr. Bock gives a coloured drawing of a shoe such as that here described, taken from the tomb of Archbishop Arnoldus, of Treves (12th century). In the upper leather "find kleine durchbohrungen (foramina obtusa) ersichtlich." L. G. vol. ii. p. 14.

^{310 &}quot;Stockings." I have rendered caligæ by this term, as more fuggestive to English readers than any other word of the real nature of this portion of the episcopal dress. Full details as to their material and ornamentation will be found in Dr. Bock (L. G. vol. ii. p. $2, \sqrt{qq}$.).

³¹¹ Fenestratum, i.e. with open spaces here and there. A similar expression (corio pertuso)

quaque diffunditur. Per quem operum fortitudo fignificatur. Humeri quippe [note 35] fortes funt ad opera peragenda, secundum illud Patriarchæ Jacob (Gen. xlix.): Supposuit humerum ad portandum, et factus est tributis serviens. Duo vasculi quibus ante pectus ligatur signant intentionem et sinem quibus informandum est opus, ne fiat in fermento malitiæ et nequitiæ, sed in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis. Sacerdos enim non debet otiosus existere, sed bonis operibus insistere et insudare, secundum quod Apostolus ait ad Timotheum: Labora sicut bonus miles fesu Christi.

CAP. 51. THE ALB.

Alba membris corporis convenienter aptata nihil superfluum aut diffolutum in vita facerdotis effe debere demonstrat. Hæc ob speciem candoris defignat munditiam, fecundum quod legitur (Eccl. ix.): Omni tempore vestimenta tua sint candida. Fit autem de bysso vel de lino. Propter quod scriptum est (Apoc. xix.): Byssum [Leg. byssinum] sunt justificationes sanctorum. Sicut enim byssus vel linum candorem, quem ex natura non habet, multis tunfionibus attritum per artem acquirit, fic et hominis caro munditiam, quam non obtinet per naturam, multis macerationibus castigata sortitur per gratiam. Unde sacerdos, fecundum Apostolum, castigat corpus suum et in servitutem redigit, ne forte quum aliis prædicaverit ipse reprobus fiat. Hæc vestis in veteri facerdotio stricta [note 101] fuisse describitur, propter spiritum servitutis in timore. In novo larga est, propter spiritum adoptionis in libertate. Quod autem Aurifrigium 312, habet, et gemmata est in diversis locis, et variis operibus ad decorem, illud infinuat quod Propheta dicit in Pfalmo (Ps. xliv.): Aftitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate.

CAP. 52. THE GIRDLE AND UNDER-GIRDLE.

Debet igitur Alba circa lumbos zona præcingi, ut castitas sacerdotis nullis incentivorum stimulis dissolvatur. Unde: Sint lumbi vestri præcinsti, et lucernæ ardentes in manibus vestris (Luc. xii.). In lumbis

Aurifrigium, aliter aurifrifia, whence the attached to the edge, or other portion, of a Fr. Orfraie, Eng. Orfrey, an ornamented band veftment.

enim luxuria dominatur. Sic Dominus loquens de diabolo manifestat (Job. xl.): Virtus ejus in lumbis ejus, et fortitudo ejus in umbilico ventris fui. Debent ergo lumbi præcingi per continentiam. Debet et subcingi 313 per abstinentiam, quoniam hoc genus dæmonii non ejicitur nisi in oratione et jejunio. Hinc etiam Apostolus ait (Eph. vi.): State succinsti lumbos in veritate.

CAP. 53. SPECIAL INSIGNIA OF THE BISHOP OF ROME.

Romanus autem pontifex post Albam et Cingulum assumit Orale, 314 quod circa caput involvit, et replicat super humeros, legalis Pontificis ordinem sequens, qui post lineam strictam et zonam induebatur Ephot, id est Superhumerale, cujus locum [Note 253] modo tenet Amictus. Et quia signo Crucis 42 auri lamina cessit, pro 293 lamina quam Pontifex gerebat in fronte, Pontifex isse siste 315 crucem gerit in pectore. Nam mysterium, quod in quattuor litteris auri lamina continebat, in quattuor partibus forma crucis explicuit. Juxta quod inquit Apostolus (Eph. iii.): Ut comprehendatis cum omnibus sanctis quæ sit longitudo et latitudo et sublimitas et profundum. Ideoque Romanus Pontifex crucem quandam insertam cathenulis, a collo suspensam, sibi statuit ante pectus, ut sacra-

313 Subcingere is to gird "up" (fuch being frequently the meaning of fub in composition). And the same girdle may be said both præcingere, in respect of its girding in the tunic in "front" of which it is fastened, and subcingere in respect of its use in gathering up (with a view to active exertion) a garment, which, if worn at its full length, would impede all freedom of movement. When, however, the zona and the fuccinetorium are distinguished (as by Innocent himself, supra, pp. 143, 144), it seems that by the latter term we must understand the long ends of the girdle which hung down from the waist nearly to the feet. This will explain the language of Durandus (R. D. O. iii. Cap. 4) speaking of the subcingulum as double. A sinistro Pontificis latere duplex dependent subcingulum. [None of the modern Liturgical works which I have confulted notice the word fuccinEtorium.]

314 Orale. In Ciampini (Vet. Mon. i. p. 239) an engraving is given in which a headdress answering to this description may be seen, on a figure which probably represents Celestine III (fed. 1191-1198). This pecu-

liar vestment, retained in the 13th Century by the Roman bishop only, was probably a relic of those earlier times when the "mitre" was what the name μίτςω originally implied, a "cap" made of linen, of wool, or of filk, utterly unlike the modern mitre.

315 This wearing of a cross (generally containing relics) as an ornament, attached to the neck by a chain, is spoken of here as peculiar to the Bishop of Rome. In Roman theory it was fo, but not in fact, even in the Western church. Numerous instances to the contrary are mentioned by Dr. Bock, who has also engraved feveral ancient "Pectoral Croffes," as they are called, and among them one fent as a present by Gregory the Great to the Lombard Queen Theodolinda. In the East these σταῦροι ἐγκόλπιοι were worn both as Imperial and as Episcopal ornaments. At the Council of Florence, no Western bishops were allowed to wear their pectoral croffes in presence of the Pope. The Greeks maintained and exercifed their right to do fo. [See Bock, L. G. vol. ii. p. 213, [qq.]

mentum quod ille tunc præferebat in fronte, hic autem recondat in pectore: 38 Nam corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio sit ad salutem.

CAP. 54. THE STOLE.

Post hæc Stolam, 50 quæ alio modo vocatur Orarium, super collum sibi sacerdos imponit, ut jugum Domini se suscepsific significet; quæ a collo per anteriora descendens dextrum et sinistrum latus adornat, quia per arma justitiæ a dextris et a sinistris, id est, in prosperis et adversis, sacerdos debet esse munitus. Stola quippe significat sapientiam vel patientiam, de qua scriptum habetur: Patientia vobis necessaria est ut reportetis promissiones (Heb. x.). Et iterum (Luc. xxi.): In patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras. Hinc est ergo quod Stola cum Zona nexibus quibusdam colligatur, quia virtutes virtutibus sociantur, ne aliquo tentationis moveantur impulsu. Debet autem sacerdos secundum decretum Braccharensis Concilii 316 de uno eodemque orario cervicem pariter et utrumque humerum premens, signum crucis in pectore suo præparare. Si quis autem aliter egerit excommunicationi debitæ subjacebit. Nissi sorte quis dixerit hoc decretum per contrariam Ecclesiæ Romanæ 317 consuetudinem abrogatum.

CAP. 55. THE TUNIC.

Deinde Pontifex induit Tunicam poderem, id est, talarem, signisicantem perseverantiam. Unde Joseph inter fratres suos talarem tunicam habuisse describitur. Cum vero cæteræ virtutes currant in stadio, perseverantia tamen accipit bravium [Note 306]: quoniam qui perseveraverit usque in sinem hic salvus erit. Unde præcipitur (Apoc. ii.): Esto sidelis usque ad mortem et dabo tibi coronam vitæ. Habebat autem hæc vestis in veteri sacerdotio pro simbriis mala Punica cum tintinnabulis aureis, quorum supra mysterium exposuimus.

CAP. 56. THE DALMATIC.

Super hanc tunicam episcopus vestit Dalmaticam, 131 fic dictam eo quod in Dalmatia suit reperta. Quæ sui forma figurat largitatem, quia

^{3&#}x27;6 The third Council of Bracara (now Braga, in Portugal) held A.D. 572.

³¹⁷ Durandus (R. D. O. iii. v.) transfers the greater part of this chapter almost word

for word into his own pages, but makes one important change, "per contrariam generalis Ecclesiæ consuetudinem,"

largas habet manicas et protenfas. Unde secundum Apostolum (I Tim. iii.): Oportet episcopum non esse turpis lucri cupidum sed hospitalem. Non ergo habeat manum ad dandum collectam, et ad recipiendum porrectam, sed illud efficiat quod Propheta suadet (Esa. lviii.): Frange esurienti panem tuum et egenos vagosque duc in domum tuam. Quum videris nudum operi eum, et carnem tuam ne despexeris. Ob hoc forte specialiter utuntur Diaconi Dalmaticis, quod principaliter electi sunt ab apostolis ut mensis ex officio ministrarent. Debet autem Dalmatica habere duas lineas coccineas hinc inde, ante et retro, a fummo ufque deorsum, ut pontifex habeat honorem charitatis,317 a ad Deum et ad proximum, in prosperis et adversis, juxta Veteris et Novi Testamenti præceptum, quod est: Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et proximum tuum sicut teipsum. Unde Joannes: Charissimi non novum mandatum scribo vobis sed mandatum vetus, quod habuistis ab initio. Atque iterum mandatum novum scribo vobis, etc. (1 Joan. ii.). In finistro quoque latere Dalmatica fimbrias habere solet, id est, solicitudines activæ vitæ fignantes, quas Episcopus debet habere pro subditis. Juxta quod dicit apostolus (1 Cor. xi.): Præter illa quæ extrinsecus funt, instantia mea quotidiana, solicitudo omnium ecclesiarum.

CAP. 57. THE GLOVES.

Quia vero plerique bonum opus, quod faciunt, inani favore corrumpunt, statim Episcopus manus operit chirothecis, 290 a ut nesciat sinistra sua quid faciat dextra sua. Per chirothecam ergo congrua cautela designatur, quæ sic facit opus in publico quod intentionem continet in occulto. Nam etsi Dominus dixerit: Luceat lux vestra coram hominibus ut videant opera vestra bona, et gloriscent Patrem vestrum qui in cælis est, propter quod chirotheca circulum aureum desuper habet, ipse tamen præcepit, Attendite ne justitiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus, ut videamini ab iis. Alioquin mercedem non habebitis apud Patrem vestrum qui in cælis est.

CAP. 58. THE CHASUBLE.

Postremo super omnes vestes induit Casulam 130 vel Planetam, 299 quæ significat Charitatem [Note 261.]. Charitas enim operit multitudinem

³¹⁷a He connects "chariey" with the colour | and Gregory the Great, quoted at p. 60 (see of scarlet, as do Alcuin (see note 235, p. 113), note 107, in fin.).

peccatorum, de qua dicit Apostolus (I Cor. xiii.): Adhuc excellentiorem viam nobis demonstro. Si linguis hominum loquar et angelorum, charitatem autem non habuero, factus sum velut æs sonans et cimbalum tinniens. Et hæc est vestis nuptialis, de qua loquitur Dominus in Evangelio: Amice, quomodo huc intrasti, non habens vestem nuptialem? Quod autem Amictus 178 super os Planetæ revolvitur, innuit quod omne opus bonum debet ad charitatem referri. Nam sinis præcepti Charitas est, de corde puro, conscientia bona, et side non sicta. Quod autem extensione manuum in anteriorem et posteriorem partem dividitur, significat duo brachia charitatis ad Deum scilicet et ad proximum. Diliges, inquit, Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et proximum sicut teipsum. In his duobus mandatis pendet tota Lex et Prophetæ. Latitudo Planetæ significat latitudinem Charitatis, quæ usque ad inimicos extenditur. Unde: Latum mandatum tuum nimis.

CAP. 59. THE MANIPLE.

Verum quia mentibus bene compositis et divino cultui mancipatis sæpe subrepit acedia 318 quæ quodam torpore reddit animum dormientem, dicente Psalmista (Ps. cxviii), Dormitavit anima mea præ tædio, in sinistra manu apponitur mappula, quæ Manipulus 307 vel Sudarium 197 appellatur, qua sudorem mentis abstergat, et soporem cordis excutiat, ut depulso tædio vel torpore bonis operibus diligenter invigilet. Per manipulum ergo vigilantia designatur, de qua Dominus ait: Vigilate quia nescitis qua bora Dominus vester venturus sit. Unde sponsa dicit in Canticis (Can. v.): Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat.

CAP. 60. THE MITRE.

Mitra 190 a Pontificis scientiam utriusque Testamenti significat: nam duo cornua 318 a duo sunt Testamenta, duæ simbriæ spiritus et littera. Circulus aureus, qui anteriorem et posteriorem partem complectitur, indicat quod omnis scriba doctus in regno cælorum de thesauro suo nova prosert et vetera. Caveat ergo diligenter episcopus ne prius velit esse magister quam norit esse discipulus, ne si cæcus cæcum duxerit ambo in soveam cadant. Scriptum est enim in Propheta: Quia tu scientiam repulisti ego te repellam, ne sacerdotio sungaris mihi. (Ose. iv.)

³¹⁸ In the text before me accidia. The true reading is 1 pplied by a comparison with St. Ivo Carnotensis, quoted at p. 127, from whom these words are taken verbatim. On

acedia fee note 262, in loc.

³¹⁸ a For details concerning the Mitre, see Bock, L. G. ii. 164.

CAP. 61. THE RING.

Annulus est fidei facramentum, in quo Christus sponsam suam sanctam Ecclesiam subarravit, ut ipsa de se dicere valeat, Annulo suo subarravit me Dominus meus, id est, Christus. Cujus custodes et pædagogi sunt episcopi et prælati, annulum pro signo serentes in testimonium. De quibus Sponsa dicit in Canticis: Invenerunt me vigiles qui custodiunt civitatem. Hunc annulum dedit pater silio revertenti, secundum illud: Date annulum in manum ejus (Luc. xv.).

CAP. 62. THE STAFF, AND WHY IT IS NOT BORNE BY THE BISHOP OF ROME.

Baculus correptionem fignificat pastoralem, propter quod a confecratore dicitur consecrato: Accipe baculum pastoralitatis. Et de quo dicit apostolus (I Cor. iv.); In virga veniam ad vos. Quod autem est acutus in fine, rectus in medio, retortus in summo, designat quod pontifex debet per eam pungere pigros, regere debiles, colligere vagos. Quod uno carmine versisicator quidam expressit: Collige, sustenta, stimula, vaga, morbida, lenta.

Romanus autem Pontifex pastorali virga non utitur, pro eo quod beatus Petrus Apostolus baculum suum 319 misit Euchario primo Episcopo Trevirorum, quem una cum Valerio et Materno ad prædicandum Evangelium genti Teutonicæ destinavit. Cui successit in episcopatu Maternus, qui per baculum sancti Petri de morte suerat suscitatus. Quem baculum usque hodie cum magna veneratione Trevirensis servat ecclesia.

CAP. 63. THE PALLIUM.

Pallium,¹¹⁰ quo majores utuntur episcopi, fignificat disciplinam qua se ipsos et subditos Archiepiscopi debent regere. Per hanc acquiritur torques 320 aurea quam legitime certantes accipiunt, de qua dicit Salo-

means of the most ancient type) was long preferved at Treves, and shown as the identical staff here spoken of. It is now at Limburg, and is sigured by Dr. Bock (v)l. ii. Pl. xxx), who out of regard for the traditions associated with it is considerate enough not to pronounce an opinion as to its real date.

³²⁰ Torques (a neck chain) is the term ordinarily employed to describe the circular portion of the Papal Pallium. Hence it is compared in this passage to a "chain of gold," such as in the East especially was often bestowed as a mark of special favour upon those whom kings "delighted to honour."

mon in Parabolis: Audi, fili mi, disciplinam patris tui, et ne dimittas legem matris tuæ: ut addatur gratia capiti tuo, et torques collo tuo (Prov. i.). Fit enim pallium de candida lana contextum, habens desuper circulum humeros constringentem, et duas lineas ab utraque parte dependentes; quattuor autem cruces purpureas, ante et retro, a dextris et a finistris: sed a finistris est duplex et simplex a dextris. Hæc omnia moralibus funt imbuta mysteriis, et divinis gravida sacramentis. Nam ut scriptura testatur (Eccl. i.): In thesauris sapientiæ fignificatio disciplinæ. In lana quippe notatur asperitas, in candore benignitatis (Leg. benignitas) designatur. Nam ecclesiastica disciplina contra rebelles et obstinatos severitatem exercet, sed erga pænitentes et humiles exhibet pietatem.321 Propter quod de lana non cujuslibet animalis fed ovis tantum efficitur, quæ mansuetum est animal. Unde Propheta: Tanquam ovis ad occisionem ductus est, et quasi agnus coram tondente is obmutivit, et non operuit os suum. Hinc est quod illius femivivi vulneribus, quem Samaritanus duxit in stabulum, et vinum adhibet et oleum; ut per vinum mordeantur vulnera, et per oleum foveantur; quatenus qui fanandis vulneribus præest in vino morsum feveritatis adhibeat, in oleo mollitiem pietatis. Hoc nimirum et per arcam tabernaculi defignatur, in qua cum tabulis virga continetur et manna. Quoniam in mente rectoris cum scripturæ scientia debet esse virga districtionis, et manna dulcedinis, ut severitas immoderate non fæviat, et pietas 321 plus quam expedit non indulgeat. Circulus pallii, per quem humeri 35 constringuntur, est timor Domini, per quem opera 35 coercentur, ne vel ad illicita defluant, vel ad fuperflua relaxentur. Quoniam disciplina sinistram cohibet ab illicitis formidine pænæ, dexteram vero temperat a superfluis amore justitiæ. Beatus ergo vir qui semper est pavidus. Nam juxta sententiam Sapientis (Eccl. i.): Timor Domini peccatum repellit, qui vero sine timore existit justificari non poterit. Hinc est ergo quod Pallium et ante pectus et super humeros frequenter aptatur.392 Quatuor cruces purpureæ funt quatuor virtutes politicæ, Justitia, Fortitudo, Prudentia, Temperantia; quæ, nisi Crucis Christi fanguine purpurentur, frustra sibi virtutis nomen usurpant, et ad veram beatitudinis gloriam non perducunt. Unde Dominus inquit Apostolis

plication here, "gentlenefs."

³²¹ Pietas, though properly used of the mingled love and reverence of children to parents (and hence of subjects to their prince, or of men to God), is occasionally employed in speaking of the tender love of parents towards their children. Such, nearly, is its im-

³²² He alludes to the three pins of gold (acus or fpinæ), by which, as he fays below, the pallium was formerly fastened to the chafuble. They are now appended to the pallium by loops of filk. Bock, L. G. ii. p. 191.

(Matt. v.): Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra plusquam Scribarum et Pharisaorum, non intrabitis in regnum calorum. Hac est purpurea regis tunica tincta [al. juncta al. vincta] canalibus quam Salomon 323 commemorat in Canticis Canticorum. Is ergo qui gloria Pallii decoratur, si cupit esse quod dicitur, in anteriori parte debet habere justitiam, ut reddat unicuique quod suum est; prudentiam in posteriori, ut caveat quod unicuique nocivum est; fortitudinem a sinistris, ut eum adversa non deprimant; temperantiam a dextris, ut eum prospera non extollant. Duæ lineæ, quarum una post dorsum et altera progreditur ante pectus, activam et contemplativam vitam fignificant. Quas ita debet exercere Prælatus ut exemplo Moysi (leg. Moysis) nunc in montem ascendat, et ibi philosophetur cum Domino; nunc ad castra descendat, et ibi necessitatibus immineat populorum; provisurus attentius ut, quum fæpe se dederit aliis, interdum se sibi restituat; quatenus et quum (Leg. cum) Martha circa frequens satagat ministerium, et quum (leg. cum) Maria verbum audiat Salvatoris. Utraque tamen gravat 324 inferius, quia corpus quod corrumpitur 325 aggravat animam, et deprimit terrena inhabitatio fensum multa cogitantem. Quapropter et Pallium duplex est in sinistra sed simplex in dextra. Quia vita præsens, quæ per sinistram accipitur, multis est subjecta molestiis, sed vita sutura quæ per dexteram designatur in una semper collecta quiete est. Quod Veritas Ipía designavit, cum intulit, Martha, Martha, solicita es, et turbaris erga plurima. Porro unum est necessarium. Maria optimam partem elegit, quæ non auferetur ab ea in æternum. Pallium duplex est in finistro, quatenus ad tolerandas vitæ præsentis molestias Prælatus fortis existat. Simplex in dextra, quatenus ad obtinendam vitæ futuræ quietem toto suspiret affectu; juxta verbum Psalmistæ, dicentis: Unam petii a Domino, hanc requiram, ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnibus diebus vitæ meæ. Tres autem acus 322 quæ pallio infiguntur ante pectus fuper humerum et post tergum, designant compassionem proximi, administrationem officii, districtionemque judicii. Quarum prima pungit animum per dolorem, secunda per laborem, tertia per terrorem. Prima

pura regis vincta canalibus.

223 Cant. vii. 5, Comæ capitis tui, ficut pur- | it hang properly. For this last see Bock,

L. G. vol. ii. p. 193.

³²⁴ Utraque tamen gravat, &c. Utraque refers directly to linea, indirectly to vita. And in faying that "both one and the other is burdensome" (utraque gravat), he refers probably to the leaden weight attached to each extremity of the pallium with a view to make

³²⁵ Quod corrumpitur, i.e. which is "fubject to corruption." Compare the use of the prefent participle τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων (equivalent to "fubject unto death") in the passage of Philo, quoted at p. 8.

pungebat Apostolum cum dicebat: Quis infirmatur et ego non infirmor? quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror? Secunda est: Præter illa quæ extrinsecus sunt instantia mea quotidiana, sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum. Tertia: Si justus vix salvabitur, impius et peccator ubi parebunt? Super dextrum humerum non infigitur acus, quoniam in æterna quiete nullus est afflictionis aculeus, nullus stimulus punctionis. Absterget enim Deus omnem lacrymam ab oculis sanctorum, et jam non erit amplius neque luctus, nec clamor, fed nec ullus dolor, quoniam priora transierunt. Acus est aurea, sed inferius est acuta, et superius rotunda, lapidem continens preciosum, quia nimirum bonus pastor propter curam ovium in terris affligitur, sed in cælis æternaliter coronabitur, ubi preciofam illam margaritam habebit, de qua Dominus ait in Evangelio: Simile est regnum cælorum homini negociatori quærenti bonas margaritas. Inventa autem una preciosa margarita, abiit et vendidit omnia quæ habuit, et emit eam. Dicitur autem Pallium plenitudo pontificalis officii, quoniam in ipfo et cum ipfo confertur pontificalis officii plenitudo. Nam antequam Metropolitanus pallio decoretur, non debet clericos ordinare, pontifices consecrare, vel ecclefias dedicare, nec Archiepiscopus appellari.

CAP. 64. PRACTICAL EXHORTATION.

Ista funt arma quæ Pontifex debet induere contra spirituales nequitias pugnaturus. Nam ut inquit apostolus, Arma militiæ nostræ non sunt carnalia, sed ad destructionem munitionum potentia Deo (2 Cor. x.). De quibus idem Apostolus in alia dicit Epistola (Eph. vi.): Induite vos armaturam Dei, ut possitis stare adversus insidias diaboli. State ergo succincti lumbos vestros in veritate, et induti loricam justitiæ, et calceati pedes in præparationem Evangelii pacis: in omnibus sumentes scutum Fidei, quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguere: et galeam salutis assumite et gladium Spiritus, quod est verbum Dei. Provideat ergo diligenter episcopus, et attendat sacerdos studiose, ut signum sine fignificato non ferat, ut vestem fine virtute non portet, ne forte similis sit sepulchro desoris dealbato, intus autem omni pleno spurcitio. Quisquis autem facris indumentis ornatur et honestis moribus non induitur, quanto venerabilior apparet hominibus, tanto indignior redditur apud Deum. Pontificalem itaque gloriam jam honor non commendat veftium, sed splendor animarum. Quoniam et illa quæ quondam carnalibus blandiebantur obtutibus ea potius quæ in ipsis erant intelligenda poscebant: ut quicquid illa velamina in sulgore auri, et in nitore gem marum, et in multimoda operis varietate signabant, hoc jam in moribus actibusque clarescat. Quod et apud veteres reverentiam ipsæ significationum species obtinent, et apud nos certiora sint experimenta rerum quam ænigmata sigurarum. Tunc enim valles abundant frumento, quum arietes ovium sunt induti.

CAP. 65. THE FOUR SACRED COLOURS.

Quattuor autem funt principales colores, quibus fecundum proprietates dierum facras vestes ecclesia Romana distinguit, Albus, Rubeus, Niger, et Viridis. Nam et in legalibus indumentis quattuor colores fuisse leguntur, Byssus, 326 et Purpura, Hyacinthus, et Coccus. Albis induitur vestimentis in festivitatibus Confessorum et Virginum; Rubeis in folemnitatibus Apostolorum et Martyrum. Hinc sponsa dicit in Canticis (cap. 5), Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus, electus ex millibus. Candidus in confessoribus et virginibus, rubicundus in martyribus et apostolis. Hi et illi sunt flores rosarum et lilia convallium. Albis igitur indumentis utendum est in festivitatibus Confessorum et Virginum propter integritatem et innocentiam. Nam candidi facti sunt Nazaræi ejus, et ambulant semper cum eo in albis. Virgines enim sunt, et sequuntur Agnum quocumque ierit. Propter eam causam utendum est albis in folennitatibus fequentibus, fcilicet in folennitatibus angelorum, de quorum nitore Dominus ait ad Luciferum: Ubi eras cum me laudarent astra matutina? (Job, xxxviii.) In nativitate Salvatoris et Præcursoris 326 a quoniam uterque natus est mundus, id est carens originali peccato. Ascendit enim Dominus super nubem levem, id est sumpsit carnem a peccatis immunem, et intravit Ægyptum, id est, venit in mundum, juxta quod Angelus ait ad virginem: Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi. Ideoque quod nascetur ex te sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei. Joannes autem, etsi fuit conceptus in peccato, fuit tamen fanctificatus in utero, fecundum illud propheticum: Antequam exires de valva sanstificavi te (Hier. i.). Nam et angelus ait ad Zachariam: Spiritu sancto replebitur adhuc ex utero matris suæ. In Epiphania, propter splendorem stellæ, quæ Magos

³²⁶ By fus is here fpoken of as a colour, i.e. white. See note 5 (γ) . ³²⁶ a The forerunner, i.e. John the Baptist.

adduxit, secundum illud Propheticum: Et ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo et reges in splendore ortus tui (Esa. xl.). In Hypopanti,327 propter puritatem Mariæ, quæ juxta Canticum Simeonis obtulit lumen ad revelationem gentium, et gloriam plebis suæ Israel. In cæna Domini,328 propter confectionem Chrismatis, quod ad mundationem animæ confecratur. Nam et evangelica lectio munditiam principaliter in illa sollennitate commendat. Qui lotus est, inquit, non indiget nisi ut pedes lavet, sed est mundus totus (Joan. xiii.) Et iterum: Si non lavero te non habebis partem mecum. In Refurrectione, propter angelum testem et nuncium resurrectionis, qui apparuit stola candida coopertus: de quo dicit Matthæus, quod erat aspectus ejus sicut fulgur, et vestimentum ejus ficut nix. In Ascensione, propter nubem candidam in qua Christus ascendit. Nam et duo viri steterunt juxta illos in vestibus albis, qui et dixerunt, Viri Galilæi, quid statis aspicientes in cælum, etc. Illud autem non otiose notandum est, quod licet in consecratione pontificis talibus indumentis sit utendum, consecrantibus scilicet et ministris (nam confecrandus femper albis utitur) qualia fecundum proprietatem diei conveniunt, in dedicatione tamen Ecclesiæ semper utendum est albis, quocunque dierum dedicatio celebretur. Quoniam in consecratione pontificis cantatur missa diei, sed in dedicatione Basilicæ dedicationis missa cantatur. Nam et Ecclesia virgineo nomine nuncupatur, fecundum illud Apostoli: Despondi enim vos uni Viro virginem castam exhibere Christo. De qua sponsus dicit in Canticis: Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te. Veni de Libano, sponsa mea, veni de Libano, veni.

Rubeis autem utendum est indumentis in solennitatibus Apostolorum et Martyrum, propter sanguinem passionis, quem pro Christo suderunt. Nam ipsi sunt qui venerunt ex magna tribulatione, et laverunt stolas suas in sanguine Agni. In Festo Crucis, de qua Christus pro nobis sanguinem suum sudit. Unde Propheta: Quare rubrum est indumentum tuum sicut calcantium in torculari? Vel in Festo Crucis 329 melius est albis utendum, quia non Passionis sed Inventionis vel Exaltationis

³²⁷ Hypopanti (a corruption of 'Υπαπάντι, or 'Υπάντι, i.e. ὑπάντησις, Salutation), one of the names by which the Feast of the Purification is defignated. See Durandus, R. D. O. lib. vii. cap. 7, and Dufresne in voc.

³²⁸ Cæna Domini, i.e. Thursday in Holy Week. As to the preparation of the Chrism, or holy oil, on this day, see Beleth. Div. Off. Expl. cap. 95.

³²⁹ He alludes to the *Inventio Sanetæ Crucis*. "Cruce Domini inventa ab Helena matre Constantini, per Judam, ut narrat historia, festum ejus primo celebratum est Hierosolymæ. Sed Eusebius, Papa trigesimus a B. Petro, illud postea ubique terrarum celebrari præcepit." *Beleth. Div. Off. Expl.* cap. 125.

est Festum. In Pentecoste, propter sancti Spiritus servorem, qui fuper Apostolos in linguis igneis apparuit. Nam apparuerunt illis dispertitæ linguæ tanquam ignis, seditque super singulos eorum. Unde Propheta: Misit de cælo ignem ossibus meis. Licet autem in Apostolorum Petri et Pauli martyrio rubeis sit utendum, in Conversione tamen et Cathedra 330 utendum est albis. Sicut licet in nativitate sancti Joannis albis utendum, in Decollatione tamen ipfius utendum est rubeis. Cum autem illius Festivitas celebratur qui simul est et Martyr et Virgo, martyrium præfertur virginitati, quia fignum est persectissimæ charitatis, juxta quod Veritas ait: Majorem charitatem nemo habet quam ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis. Quapropter et in commemoratione Omnium Sanctorum quidam rubeis induuntur ornamentis, alii vero, ut Curia Romana, candidis: quum non tam in eadem quam de eadem solennitate dicat Ecclesia, quod Sancti, secundum Apocalypsim Joannis, stabant in conspectu Agni, amicti stolis 50 albis, et palmæ in manibus eorum.

Nigris autem indumentis utendum est in die assilictionis et abstinentiæ, pro peccatis, et pro desunctis. Ab Adventu scilicet usque ad Natalis vigiliam, et a Septuagesima usque ad sabbatum Paschæ. 331 Sponsa quippe dicit in Canticis: Nigra sum sed formosa, filiæ Jerusalem, sicut tabernacula Cedar, sicut pellis Salomonis. Nolite me considerare quod susce sim, quia decoloravit me sol. In Innocentum autem die quidam nigris, alii vero rubeis, indumentis utendum esse contendunt. Illi propter tristitiam, quia vox in Rhama audita est, ploratus et ululatus multus, Rachel plorans silios suos, et noluit consolari quia non sunt. Nam propter eandem causam Cantica lætitiæ subticentur, et non in aurisfrigio Mitra 332 desertur. Isti propter martyrium, quod principaliter commemorans inquit Ecclesia: Sub throno Dei Sansti clamabant, vindica sanguinem nostrum qui essus est, Deus noster. Propter tristitiam ergo, quam et silentium innuit lætitiæ canticorum, Mitra quæ fertur non est aurisfrigio insignita, sed propter martyrium rubeis est

Liturgists distinguish three kinds of mitres, the Plain Mitre (fimplex) made of linen; the Orfreyed Mitre (Mitra aurifrigiata, see note 312, p. 152, or Mitra follennis); and the Precious Mitre (Mitra preciosa), in which the inner Cap (Mitra, see note 288°) is almost entirely concealed by plates made of the precious metals encrusted with jewels.

²³⁰ Cathedra, i.e. Cathedra Petri. "De Cathedra S. Petri Ecclesia follennizat, quando videlicet apud Antiochiam Cathedrali honore fublimatus esse perhibetur." Durandus, R. D. O. lib. viii. cap. 8.

³³¹ Sabbatum Paschæ, i.e. Easter-Eve.

³³² Non in aurifrigio, &c. He means that a plain mitre is to be used without any golden or embroidered band. The later Roman

indumentis utendum. Hodie utimur violaceis: ficut in Lætare Hierufalem, 333 propter lætitiam quam Aurea Rosa fignificat, Romanus Pontifex portat Mitram aurifrisio insignitam, sed propter abstinentiam nigris,
immo violaceis utitur indumentis.

Restat ergo quod in diebus ferialibus et communibus viridibus sit indumentis utendum. Quia viridis color medius est inter albedinem et nigredinem et ruborem. Hic color exprimitur ubi dicitur (Cant. iv.): Cypri cum nardo, Nardus et Crocus.

Ad hos quattuor cæteri referuntur. Ad rubeum colorem coccineus, ad nigrum violaceus, ad viridem croceus. Quamvis nonnulli rofas ad Martyres, crocum ad Confessores, lilium ad Virgines referunt.^{335 a}

333 He alludes to the special observances (at Rome) of Mid-Lent Sunday, when the Golden Rose is carried in solemn procession by the Pope. "In hac Dominica (4th S. in Lent) Romanus Pontifex celebraturus ad ecclesiam pergens et rediens ab eadem auream in manu. . . fert rosam. . . (This Rose is then given to one whom the Pope desires specially to honour.) . . . Demum ille cum multo equitatu et lætitia ingenti civitatem cum rosa circuit, sigurans gaudium illius populi in civitatem Hierusalem reversi." Durandus, R. D. O. lib. vi. cap. 53.

333 a The Vestments of the Roman Church,

with the "four Sacred Colours (p. 161) which the Roman Church affigns as proper to various festivals," are here for the first time described in their complete development: From the time of this Treatise there have been slight varieties in detail introduced from time to time, in respect of shape and ornamentation, but the "Sacræ Vesses" of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon, proper to the Roman Church, have been accepted, as here described, to this day. [For the "Surplice," which is not mentioned by Innocent III., see infra, p. 166, and Index in voc.]

XXXIX.

DVRANDI MIMATENSIS EPISCOPI 374 RATIONALE 335 DIVINORVM OFFICIORVM.

LIB. III. DE VESTIBUS SACRIS.

CAP. I. CHANGE IN CLERICAL DRESS IN NINTH CENTURY.

. . . Nota quod tempore Ludovici Imperatoris filii Caroli Magni, Episcopi et Clerici cingula auro texta, exquisitas vestes, et alia secularia ornamenta deposuerunt. 336

Episcopal Vestments regarded as Spiritual Armour.

versus Orientem seu versus altare, si sit magis accommodum, respicere possit, tanquam advocatus seu pugil cum hoste pugnaturus antiquo, vestibus sacris quasi armis induitur, juxta Apostolum, ut jam dicetur. Primo sandalia pro ocreis habet, ne quid maculæ vel pulveris affectionum inhæreat. Secundo Amictus pro galea [note 178, p. 94] caput contegit. Tertio Alba pro lorica totum corpus cooperit. Quarto cingulum pro arcu, subcingulum 337 pro pharetra assumit: et est subcingulum illud quod dependet a cingulo, quo Stola Pontificis cum ipso

334 Durandus (Gulielmus), born in France circ. 1232 A.D. Bishop of Mende 1287; died 1296 A.D. The basis of the text is that of Cellier, Lugduni, MDCLXXII; a very desective one, the punctuation particularly being such as often to make nonsense of such sentences as present any difficulties of interpretation. Here, as elsewhere, I have made no alterations, except in punctuation, without notice to the reader.

335 The third book of this Treatife is entirely occupied with the subject of vestments. But it confists in great measure of large extracts from older writers, many of which have already been before the reader of the present

work. I have therefore only felected those passages which add to these older writers any thing of importance to the subject of this Treatise.

336 One effect of the reftoration of an Imperial power in the West was that of restraining the tendency to extravagant sumptuousness and splendour in the secular dress of some among the Clergy. See, for example, what is said of Archbishop Ethelbert by Dr. Hook (Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, vol. i. p. 262).

337 See note 313, p. 153, on the word fuccinetorium, which is equivalent to the fubcingulum of Durandus. cingulo colligatur. Quinto, Stola collum circumdans, qua (Leg. quafi) hastam contra hostem vibrans. Sexto, manipulo pro clava utitur. Septimo, Casula quasi clypeo tegitur. Manus Libro pro gladio armatur. De singulis etiam aliter dicetur infra. Hæc itaque sunt arma quibus Pontifex vel Sacerdos armari debet contra spirituales nequitias pugnaturus.

Difference in Number between the Vestments of the Law and of the Gospel.

ergo noster Pontisex 336 plura quam octo induit vestimenta quamvis Aaron non nisi octo habuisse legatur; quibus moderna succedunt. Quod ideo est quoniam oportet justitiam nostram magis abundare quam Scribarum et Pharisæorum; ut intrare possimus in regnum cælorum. Potest etiam dici quod noster Pontisex octo habet a capite usque ad pedes, exceptis vestimentis pedum et manuum; scilicet Amictum, Albam, Cingulum, et Stolam, duas Tunicas, Casulam et Pallium, Vestimentum enim pedum potius pertinet ad nostros quam ad Aaron: quia nostris dictum est, Euntes docete omnes gentes, etc.

THE SURPLICE.

Denique præter præmissa vestes sacris ordinibus et ministris deputatas, est et alia quædam vestis linea, quæ Superpelliceum dicitur, quod quibuslibet servitiis altaris et sacrorum vacantes super vestes communes uti debent: prout in sequente titulo dicetur. Superpelliceum autem primo, propter sui candorem, munditiam seu puritatem castitatis designat: Juxta illud, Omni tempore vestimenta, id est, opera tua, sint candida et munda. Propter nomen vero suum carnis mortificationem sigurat secundo. Dictum est enim Superpelliceum eo quod antiquitus super tunicas pellicias de pellibus mortuorum animalium sactas induebatur; quod adhuc in quibussam ecclesiis observatur, repræsentantes (sic) quod Adam post peccatum talibus vestitus est pelliciis. Tertio denotat innocentiam; et ideo ante omnes alias vestes sacras sæpe induitur, quia divino cultui deputati innocentia vitæ cunctis virtutum actibus superpollere debent; juxta illud Psalmissæ, Innocentes

of us Christians in contrast with Aaron the position of us Christians in contrast with Aaron the p. 101.

et recti adhæserunt mihi. Quarto propter sui latitudinem congrue charitatem designat. Unde super profanas et communes vestes induitur ad notandum quod Charitas operit multitudinem peccatorum.

Quinto propter sui formam, quia in modum crucis formatur, Passionem Domini figurat, quodque illud gerentes crucifigi debent cum vitiis et cum concupiscentiis.

Fiunt autem Superpellicea in quibusdam locis de crismalibus lineis quæ ponuntur super infantulos baptizatos: exemplo Moisi qui de purpura et bysso, et aliis a populo in tabernaculo oblatis, secit vestes quibus Aaron et filii ejus induerentur, quando ministrabant in Sanctuario.

THE PLUVIAL OR COPE.

Est etiam et alia vestis quæ Pluviale 339 vel Cappa vocatur, quæ creditur a legali tunica mutuata. Unde ficut illa tintinnabulis, fic ista fimbriis infigitur (Leg. infignitur), quæ sunt labores, hujus mundi folicitudines. Habet etiam caputium, quod est supernum gaudium. Prolixa est usque ad pedes, per quod perseverantia usque in finem fignificatur. In anteriori parte aperta est, ad denotandum quod sancte conversantibus vita patet æterna, seu quod eorum vita patere debet aliis in exemplum . . . Rurfus per Cappam gloriofa corporum immortalitas intelligitur. Unde illam non nifi in majoribus festivitatibus induimus, aspicientes in futuram resurrectionem quando electi, deposita carne, binas stolas accipient, videlicet requiem animarum et gloriam corporum. Quæ Cappa recte interius patula est, nisi et [Leg. et nisi] sola necessaria fibula inconsuta, quia corpora spiritualia sacta nullis animam obturabunt angustiis. Fimbriis etiam subornantur, quia tunc nostræ nihil deerit imperfectioni; sed quod nunc ex parte cognoscimus tunc cognoscemus sicut et cogniti sumus.

³³⁹ The name pluviale ("parapluie," as it were), and the Cape or Hood from which was derived the name Cappa, and our own "Cope," point to the origin of the vestment as originally worn out of doors for protection from the weather. The form of the later ecclesiastical cope may be seen in Plate LI., where it is worn by the bishops officiating at the Coronation of Henry VI.

The memory of the original hood is still preferved in the peculiar ornament on the back of the Cope, upon which the outline of a small cape or round hood is traced in embroidery. See, for example, Bock, L. G. vol. ii. pl. xli. [The Cappa is mentioned as one of the monastic habits early in the eleventh century. See Thomassinus De Ben. part i. lib. ii. cap. 48, p. 332.]

XL.

SYMEON PATRIARCHA THESSALONICENSIS.540

Περί τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας.

Κεφ. πι. περὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερατικοῦ Μανδύου 341 τε καὶ τοῦ Ἐγκολπίου 342 καὶ τῆς ποιμαντικῆς ῥάβδου.

Τυθέντος οὖν καὶ θανόντος καὶ ἀναστάντος καὶ ἀνελθόντος Χριστοῦ ὑπὲς ἡμῶν, τότε τὸ Πνεῦμα κατῆλθε, καὶ τὴν χάριν ἐλάβομεν. Καὶ ἐκ τῆς καρδίας τῶν πιστῶν οἱ ποταμοὶ ¾¾ τῶν δωρεῶν ¾¾ ρέουσι. Καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῖ ὁ Μανδύας. Καὶ ἡ σφραγὶς δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως στήθει ἐκκρεμαμένη διὰ σταυρίου ἢ ἐγκολπίου τινος. Καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν τῷ στήθει διὰ τὴν ἐκ καρδίας ὁμολογίαν.

'Η ράβδος ³⁴⁵ δὲ, τἦν κατέχει, τὴν ἐξουσίαν δηλοῖ τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ τὸ στηςικτικὸν τοῦ λάου, καὶ τὸ ποιμαντικόν, καὶ τὸ ὁδηγεῖν δύνασθαι, καὶ τὸ παιδεύειν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, καὶ τὸ συνάγειν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τοὺς μακςάν. Διὸ καὶ λαβὰς ὡς ἀγκύςας ἄνωθεν ἔχει. Καὶ τὸ διώκειν τοὺς θηςιωδεῖς τε καὶ λυμαντικούς. Καὶ τελευταῖον τὸν σταυςὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ δηλοῖ, καὶ τὸ τροπαῖον, ἐν ϶϶ καὶ νικῶμεν, καὶ στηςιζόμεθα, καὶ ὁδηγούμεθα, καὶ ποιμανόμεθα, καὶ σφραγι-

340 The writer, here quoted, occupied the See of Thessaline from circ. 1410 to 1429 A.D. This Treatise was first made known in the West by Jacobus Pontanus, a zealous partisan, who, if Cave speak truly (Hist. Lit. ii. p. 113), was anything but a trustworthy editor.

341 In this chapter he describes the ordinary dress of a Bishop; his dress of ministry is spoken of in the chapter following. The Mantle, with its three stripes, technically called ποταμοί, and the Pastoral Staff may be seen in the representation of Patriarch Bekkos among the illustrations of this volume. See Plate LIX.

342 ἐγκόλσιον. See above, note 315, p. 158.
343 This is used in allusion to Jo. vii. 38,
39. "He that believeth on me . . . out

of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. This spake He of the Spirit which they that believe on Him should receive."

344 δωρίω is here correctly used of a gift from God to man. Δωρον, on the other hand, is properly a gift, or offering to homage, from man to God. See *Eirenica*, vol. i. p. 187 (foot-note.)

345 In the Greek Church the Staff has not the form of a shepherd's crook, as commonly it has in the West, but retains the semblance rather of a staff such as men might use in walking. The handle is set on cross-wise like the horizontal line of the letter T, but the extremities of this handle are generally turned up slightly, and terminate in some carved ornament. See the Figure referred to in note 341.

ζόμεθα, καὶ παιδαγωγούμεθα, καὶ ελκόμεθα εἰς Χριστὸν τὰ πάθη νεκροῦντες, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους διώκομεν, καὶ πάντοθεν φυλαττόμεθα.

Κεφ. πά. Περί των ίεςων του άςχιες ένδυμάτων.

'Ο δὲ ἀςχιεςεὺς ἐνδύεται μὲν ὡς εἰςήκαμεν τὸ Στιχάςιον 346 ὡς ἔνδυμα ἀφθαςσίας φωτεινὸν καὶ ἀγιωσύνης, τὸ καθαςὸν καὶ φωτιστικὸν 347 Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τὰ τῶν ᾿Αγγέλων ἀγνὸν καὶ λαμπςὸν, δήλουν. Καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν φησὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ ᾿Αγαλλιάσεται ἡ ψυχή μου ἐπὶ τῷ Κυςίψ. Εἶτα τὸ Ἐπιτςαχήλιον, 348 τὸ ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐςἀνου ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς δοθεῖσαν χάςιν σημαῖνον. Καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦτο φησίν Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἐκχέων τὴν χάςιν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἱεςεῖς αὐτοῦ. Εἶτα τὴν ζώνην, τὴν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἰσχὸν ἐκτυποῦσαν περὶ τὴν ὀσφὸν τιθεμένην. Καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ μαςτυςεῖ ἐν τῷ περιζωννύεσθαι φησὶ γὰς, Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ περιζωννύων με δύναμιν. Ἦμα δὲ καὶ τὸ τὴς διακονίας ἔργον δηλοῖ. 'Ο γὰς διακονῶν περιζώννυται. Καὶ ἔτι τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ ἀγνείαν, ἐπὶ τοὺς νεφρούς κειμένη καὶ τὴν ὀσφὸν.

"Επειτα τὸ "Επιγονάτιον 349 τὸ κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου νίκην δήλουν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆχος ἀνάστασιν, ὅπες καὶ ὡς σχῆμα ῥομφαίας ἕχει. Καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦτο φησί" Πεςίζωσαι τὴν ῥομφαῖαν σου ἐπὶ τὸν μηςόν σου, δυνατέ. Ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν νίκην, καὶ τὴν ἔγεςσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, διὰ τῆς καθαχότητος καὶ ἀναμαχτησίας, δηλῶν (Leg. δηλοῖ.) Διὰ τοῦτο γὰς καὶ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀσφύος ἐκκρέμαται. Καὶ τῷ ὡςαιότητί σου καὶ τῷ πάλλει σου, φησί, καὶ ἕντειναι καὶ κατευοδοῦ καὶ βασίλευε, ἕνεκεν ἀληθείας καὶ πραότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης. . . .

Είτα λαμβάνει τὰ ἐπιμανίκια.³⁵⁰ "Α δὴ τὸ παντουργικὸν σημαίνουσι τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦτο λέχει· 'Η δεξία σου, Κύριε, δεδόξασται ἐν ἰσχύϊ.

²⁴⁶ Στοιχώριον. The derivation of this word is uncertain. It is the term which in the Greek Church answers to the *alba* (or tunica alba) of the West.

347 The Sticharion as being white fets forth τὸ φωτιστικὸν Ἰησοῦ. With this fymbolism of white garments compare Clemens Alex Pædag. iii. p. 286. εἰρηνικοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ φωτεινοῖς κατάλληλον τὸ λευκόν.

348 ἐπιτραχήλιον i.e. what in the Western Church would be called a stole. See note 144, p. 84.

319 το επιγονάτιον. This ornament may be feen in the figures of St. Methodius and St. Germanus among the illustrations of this volume, Pl. LVIII. The germ of this orna-

ment may be feen in the fomewhat fimilar ornaments on the imperial dreffes of Justinian and his courtiers, (known in the language of the time as paragaudæ) in the Mosaic of the Church of S. Vitalis at Ravenna. See Pl. XXVIII.

360 Expansion. A Byzantine word, half Greek and half Latin, like many others of fimilar character. By derivation it will mean "what is added to, or fet upon, the fleeve;" and hence its actual usage as a designation of the cuffs, worn on either arm, by bishops and priests in the Greek Church. Their form may be seen in those of Bishop Nikitas, sigured among the illustrations of this volume. Pl. LVI.

Καὶ τὸ Λὶ χεῖgες σου ἐποίησάν με καὶ ἔπλασάν με. "Ετι δὲ καὶ τὸ ταῖς χεροίν ἰερουργῆσαι τὰ μυστήρια ἑαυτοῦ. Καὶ τὸ τὰς χεῖρας δεθῆναι.

 \mathbf{E}_{17}^{7} α το Φαινόλιον, 351 η Σάκκος 352 ον η Πολυσταύςιον, 353 α δη την έν τ $\tilde{\varphi}$ πάθει σημαίνουσι χλαΐναν. Και τον Σάκκον μαλλον ο Σάκκος, 354 Και το Πολυσταύςιον δέ. Αλλά και την περονοητικήν και φερυεητικήν έν πασι και συνεκτικήν χάςιν τοῦ Θ εοῦ, δι' ην και καθ' ήμας $\tilde{\omega}$ φθη, και τὰ πάθη ὑπήνεγκε.

Κεφ. πβ΄. Τὸ 'Ωμοφόςιον.

Καὶ τελευταῖον τὸ Ἰ Ωμοφόριον, 355 ὅ ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων ἐλίττων τὴν τοῦ πλανηθέντος προβάτου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡμῶν δηλοῖ σωτηρίαν τε καὶ ἀνάκλησιν. Οδ δὴ καὶ τὴν μορφὴν ἀνέλαβεν ὁ Σωτὴρ, ἐν ἢ καὶ παθὼν διὰ Σταυροῦ ἡμᾶς ἔσωσεν. "Οθεν καὶ ἐξ ἐρίου. Καὶ ἔμπροσθέν τε καὶ ὅπισθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους σταυροειδῶς τέσσαρας ἔχει σταυροὺς τὴν σταύρωσιν ἐκτυποῦντας. Καὶ οὕτω μὲν στολισάμενος Ισταται ὁ ἀρχιερεύς.

Κεφ. πγ'. Τὰ πέντε ἄμφια τῶν ἰεςέων.

[After describing the ceremonies with which the Liturgy begins, he proceeds as follows:]

'Απέρχεται οὖν οὖτος [ʃc. ὁ ἰερεύς] και μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἰερέων τὰ ἰερατικὰ

351 φαινόλιον. For the form of the word as compared with the older φαινόλης, equivalent to pænula, fee note 153, p. 86. The primitive forms of this vestment may be seen (Pl. XXVII.) in the figure of Eusebius of Cæsarea (from the Syriac MS. at Florence), or in that of St. Sampson, among the illustrations of this volume, Pl. LVI.

352 Σάκκος. This is a close fitting veftment worn in place of the φαινόλιον by Metropolitans, as a mark of diffinctive dignity. See Goar, Euchol. Gr. p. 113. Its form may be feen in the figure of St. Germanus in Pl. LVIII.

353 Πολυσταύριον, i.e. a Phænolion marked with crosses over its entire surface. It is worn by Bishops generally, or at least was so in the time of St. Symeon here quoted. In his treatise De Templo (quoted by Goar, Euch. Gr. p. 113) he says, οί λοιποί τῶν ἀρχιερέων (i.e. those not having metropolitan dignity) τὸ φελώνιον πλῆρες σταυρῶν ἐνδύονται ὁ ὁ ὁὴ καὶ πολυσταύριον ὁ λόγος καλεῖν οίδε.

354 These words are explained by what the

Patriarch fays in another passage (De Templo, apud Goar, Euchol. Græc. p. 113), ἐξαιεέτως δὲ δν ἐνεδύσατο ἐμπαιζόμενος ὁ Σωτὴς ἐξεικονίζει σάκκον διὸ καὶ σάκκου τύπον ἔχει. Οὐδὲ γὰς ἔχει τοῦτο ἄ καλοῦσι μανίκια. ᾿Αριδηλότερον δὲ τοῦτο παρίστησι καὶ δ ἐνδύονται οἱ ἔκκριτοι τῶν ἀρχιερέων, σάκκος καὶ τοῦτο καλούμενον.

355 το ωρωφόριου. This vestment, mentioned first by St. Isidore of Pelusium (see p. 49), and again by St. Germanus (see p. 85), has from the earliest times been worn by all Greek bishops, whether Metropolitans or others. In form, too, it has varied but little, if at all, from the earliest times in which we find it represented, even to the present day. It is worn by all the bishops represented in the picture of the Second Council of Nicæa (Pl. XLI. of the illustrations of this volume), and may be seen also in the figures of St. Methodius and St. Germanus already referred to. An Omophorion of the fourteenth century, that of Archbishop Moses, is figured in Plate LVI.

περιβάλλεται ἄμφια. . . "Επαστον εὐλογεὶ ὡς παὶ ὁ ᾿Αςχιεςεὺς τῶν ἰεςῶν ἐνδυμάτων τε παὶ ἀσπάζεται, παὶ οὐτω δὴ περιβάλλεται, δειπνὺς ὡς ἡγιασμένα εἰσι, παὶ ἐν τῷ σταυςῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀγιάζεται, παὶ ἀγιασμοῦ μεταδοτιπά εἰσι πάλιν ἐπενδυόμενα. Περιβάλλεται οὖν πέντε ἐνδύματα, ὡς τέλειος παὶ αὐτὸς, παὶ τελειοποιὸν ἔχων χάριν. Πέντε γὰς αὶ τέλειαί εἰσιν αἰσθήσεις τοῦ σώματος, παὶ πέντε αὶ δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς ἃς παὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀγιάζει βαπτίζων παὶ ἀγιάζων τὸν ἄνθρωπον. "Εστι δὲ ἃ ἐνδύεται, Στιχάριον, Ἐπιτραχήλιον, Ζώνη, Ἐπιμανίπια, παὶ Φαινόλιον. Λευπὰ δὲ ταῦτα, διὰ τὸ παθαρὸν τῆς χάριτός τε παὶ φωτεινόν.

Πολλάκις δε και ποςφύς κα κατὰ καιςὸν τῶν νηστειῶν, διά γε τὸ πενθεῖν ἡμῶς ἀμαςτήσαντας, και διὰ τὸν σφαγέντα ὑπες ἡμῶν, ἵν' εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἐλθόντες τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸν μιμησώμεθα ὁ (fort. ὅν) και μέλλομεν ἑοςτάζειν. Τινὲς δε τῶν πρώτων πρεσβυτέρων, ήτοι οἱ Σταυςοφόςοι, ³δ6 τῶν 'Αρχιμανδριτῶν τε τινὲς, και ἐπιγονάτιον ἔχουσι' τοῦτο γὰς κατὰ δωρεάν ἐστιν ἀρχιεςατικὴν ὡς και ὁ Σταυςός. Οὐδεὶς γὰς πλὴν τοῦ 'Αρχιερέως τοὺς σταυςούς τε ἐν τῷ φαινολίψ και ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς, καὶ τὸ 'Επιγονάτιον φοςεῖν, δύναται. Τούτοις δὲ ὁμῶς, διὰ τὸ πρώτους τῶν ἄλλων χειςοτονεῖσθαι, τὸ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἔχειν σταυςὸν μόνον, καὶ ἐπιγονάτιον ἐν τῆ ἱεςουςγίφ φοςεῖν, δίδοται. ³δ7

THE MANDYAS, OR MANTLE, OF THE BISHOP, THE PECTORAL CROSS, AND PASTORAL STAFF.

AFTER that Christ for us had been facrificed, had died, and risen again, and gone up on high, then did the Spirit come down from above, and we received the grace of God. And now out of the hearts of the faithful flow the rivers 343 of the divine gifts.344 And this is set forth by the

356 οἱ σταυροφόροι. Certain of the clergy at the principal Church at Constantinople had the privilege of wearing a cross upon their cowls. See above note 152, p. 86.

357 From this passage we find that in the sifteenth century the recognised vestments of the Greek Church were, with sew additions only, identical with those described by St. Germanus seven centuries earlier. St. Germanus mentions Sticharion, Peritrachelion (or Epitrachelion), and Phelonion, adding mention of the Omophorion as a distinctive vestment (σοῦ ἀρχιερίως), worn by bishops. To these we now find added the cuffs (common to priests and bishops), and the "Epigonation," the latter worn by bishops only. On

the other hand, the ignificant, or napkin, mentioned as characteristic of a deacon by Germanus, finds no place in this later notice.

Laftly, the σάκκος (note 352) and the πολυσταύζιον (note 353) spoken of in the later treatife, do not appear to have been known to the earlier of the two writers. Nor does St. Germanus make mention of a pastoral staff, or a pectoral cross, as being in his time distinctive insignia of a bishop.

But even with the additions here noticed the feven facred vestments of the Greek bishop stand contrasted in their greater simplicity and close adherence to antiquity, with the fifteen enumerated by Innocent III., and retained to this day by the Roman Church. Mantle. The Seal, too, and profession of the Faith, is suspended on the breast of the Bishop by a Cross, or Pectoral ornament. For this also is worn upon the Breast, because of the profession which from the heart is made.

Then the Staff, 345 which he holdeth, showeth forth the power of the Spirit, and what appertaineth to the confirming and pastoral care of God's people, and the power to guide, and the chastising of them that are disobedient, and the gathering unto himself of them that are afar off. Wherefore also it hath handles 345 on the upper part thereof, like unto anchors. It signifies also the pursuing of them that are sierce in spirit and injurious. And, lastly, it setteth forth the Cross of Christ, and the memorial of victory, wherein we are both conquerors ourselves, and are strengthened, and guided, and shepherded, and sealed, and led by the hand, and drawn unto Christ, mortifying our evil affections, wherewith also we pursue our foes, and are protected on every side.

CAP. 81. THE SEVEN SACRED VESTMENTS OF A BISHOP.

But the (chief priest) Bishop putteth upon him, as we have said, the Sticharion, said as a lightsome garment of immortality and holiness, setting forth the pure and light-giving nature of Jesus, and the holiness and brightness of the angels. And the prayer that he saith is from the Psalm, "My soul shall rejoice in the Lord."

Then he putteth on the Epitrachelion,³⁴⁸ which is a fign of grace given from above out of heaven, proceeding from the Head. And this doth the prayer express, "Bleffed be God, who poureth out His grace upon His priests."

Then the Girdle, fetting forth in figure the strength which is from God, in that this is laid about the loins. And to this doth the prayer witness, which at the girding is used, "Blessed be God who girdeth me about with power." By it is likewise signified the work of ministry, for it appertaineth to one who ministers that he wear a girdle. And yet again it is a sign of soberness and chaste purity, resting as it does upon the reins and loins.

After this he putteth on the Genual, 349 which fetteth forth Victory over Death, and the Resurrection of the Saviour, which also is worn after the fashion of a sword. And this doth the prayer say, "Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, thou mighty one." And because of this

doth it set forth both the power, and the victory, and the rising of Christ from the dead, by the purity and sinlessness thereof. For this is the cause wherefore this vestment also is suspended from the loins. "In the prime of thy might and in thy beauty," saith he, "hold on thy way, and prosper, and reign, because of Truth, and Meekness, and Righteousness."

Next after this he taketh the Cuffs.³⁵⁰ By these is signified the pervading energy of God. And to this do the words of the prayer apply, "Thy right hand, O Lord, is glorified in strength." And again, "Thy hands made me and fashioned me." By them, too, is sigured His consecrating with His hands the mysteries of Himself. And, again, that of His hands being bound.

Next followeth the Phænolion, 351 either Saccos, 352 or Polystaurion, 353 by which is fignified the outer robe which He bare at the time of His passion. And by the Saccos that he wears is fignified rather the like garment of Christ. 354 And so, too, may we say of the Polystaurion. Though by this is shown also the grace of God, provident and protective in all things, and maintenant, by reason of which He both appeared among us men, and endured those His sufferings.

CAP. 82. THE OMOPHORION.

Last of all, he taketh the Omophorion, 355 which he rolleth out (unfolds) from his shoulders, and so setteth forth the saving and recalling to the fold of the lost sheep of our Humanity. Of which sheep the Saviour did assume the form; wherein also He suffered, and so saved us by the cross. And this is the reason that it is made of wool. And both behind and in front, and upon the breast, it hath sour crosses, arranged crosswife, figuring forth the Crucifixion.

Such is the fashion in which the Bishop doth stand arrayed.

CAP. 83. THE FIVE VESTMENTS OF THE PRIEST.

[After describing the ceremonies with which the Liturgy begins, he proceeds as follows:]

The Priest then goeth thence, and with the other Priests putteth upon him the sacerdotal garments. He blesseth each of the sacred

veftments, and kiffeth it, even as does the chief-prieft (Bifhop). And having fo done he putteth it about him, showing by that he doeth that they have been confecrated, and are made holy by the cross of Christ, and impart holiness now that again they are put on. Five garments accordingly he putteth about him, as being himself consummate, and endowed with consummating grace. For five is the full number of the bodily senses; and five the powers of the soul, which are sanctified by Jesus when He baptizeth man and sanctifieth him. And the vestments that the Priest putteth on are these, Sticharion [note 346], Epitrachelion, Girdle, Cuffs, Phænolion. And these are white, because of the purity and illumination that belongeth to grace. But oftentimes too they are purple, in times of fast, because of our mourning in respect of sin, and because of Him who on our behalf was slain, in order that being put in remembrance of His passion we may follow the example of Him, whose feast also we are about to keep.

But some of the principal presbyters, the Cross-wearers as they are called, and certain of the Archimandrites, wear a Genual also; for this is a matter of episcopal favour, as is also the wearing of a cross. For none save the Bishop hath power to wear both the crosses (on the Phænolion and the head) and the Genual. Yet, nevertheless, those of whom I now speak, because of their being ordained with precedence over others, have given unto them the right to wear a cross upon the head only, and a Genual, when occupied in the holy office. 357

APPENDIX.

A.

ASSOCIATIONS OF COLOUR IN PRIMITIVE TIMES, AND MORE PARTICULARLY IN THE FIRST FOUR CENTURIES OF CHRISTIAN HISTORY.

Part 1. Passages of Profane Authors quoted 358 or alluded to in the Introduction.

- I. Plato, De Leg. xii. p. 956. [He is fpeaking of the kind of offerings which may with most propriety be offered to the gods: and he says], ὑφὴν δὲ μὴ πλέον ἔξγον 359 γυναικὸς μιᾶς ἔμμηνον χεώματα δὲ λευκὰ πεέποντ' ἂν είη θεοῖς, καὶ ἄλλοθι καὶ ἐν ὑφῆ. βάμματα δὲ μὴ πεοσφέξειν ἀλλ' ἢ πεὸς τὰ πολέμου κοσμήματα.
- 2. Ibid. p. 947. He is speaking of the honours to be paid to the "Most Worthy" citizens in the Commonwealth: that they shall have precedence in all Public Assemblies; shall represent the State in solemn religious Embassies; shall alone among all be crowned with Bay; shall be Priests, all of them, of Apollo and of Helios, and one among them be high-priest in each year, and that by his name (as Eponymus) the year shall be known. He then adds:—

τελευτήσασι δὲ προθέσεις τε καὶ ἐκφορὰς καὶ θήκας διαφοροὺς εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, λευκήν μὲν την στολήν εἶναι πᾶσαν κ.τ.λ.

"When they die let them be marked out from all other citizens both by the flate in which they are fet out, and by their carrying out to burial, and by the tombs to which they are committed; and let their apparel be all of white," etc.

necessary for the elucidation of meaning.

²⁵⁸ Where a translation of any of these passages has already been given in the Introduction, none is given in this Appendix, nor in cases where no difficulty of any kind obscures the meaning of the author. In other passages I have endeavoured to supply, either by full Translations or by Notes, what appeared

³⁵⁹ μη πλίου, κ. σ. λ. He means that the labour expended upon it should not be more than would occupy one pair of hands for a month. See the translation of what follows, and the explanatory note, Introduction, cap. iii. p. xviii. γ.

With this of white apparel wherein to array the dead we may compare the passage that follows:—

- 3. Plutarch, Quaft. Rom. τὸ σῶμα τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἀμφιεννύουσι λευκοῖς, ἔπει μὴ δύνανται τὴν ψύχην βούλονται δὲ ἐκείνην λαμπεὰν καὶ καθαξὰν περπέμπειν, ὡς περειμένην ἤδη, καὶ διηγωνισμένην μέγαν ἀγῶνα 300 καὶ ποικίλον.
- "The body of the dead they array in white, feeing that they cannot so clothe his foul; and their defire therein is to attend it, all bright and pure, to the grave, as one already released from the body, and that has contended even to the end in the great and chequered battle of life."
- 4. Horace, Sat. ii. 61. White, the colour of focial, and in fome fort religious, festival, whether of marriage, birthdays, or the like.

Licebit Ille repotia,³⁶¹ natales, aliofve dierum Feftos albatus celebret.

5. Ovid. Trift. lib. iii., xii. [He is writing on his Birthday].

Scilicet expectes soliti tibi moris honorem

Pendeat 362 ex humeris vestis ut alba meis?

6. Ovid, lib. v. el. 5. [He writes now of his Wife's Birthday],

Annuus adsuetum Dominæ natalis honorem Exigit Quæque semel toto vestis mihi sumitur anno Sumatur fatis discolor alba meis.

- "Though because of his unhappy condition he should rather be wearing mourning, yet will he, in honour of this day, put on the white robe (toga) of sestival."
 - 7. Perfius, Sat. ii.

Negato Jupiter hoc illi quamvis albata rogarit.

- "Let the gods deny her request, even though (clad in white, and so) with all folemnity of outward worship her prayer be uttered."
 - 8. Donatus on Terence (apud Wetstenium in Matt. xxvii. 28) Læto vestitus

361 Repotia. The return feast given by the bridegroom on the day after a marriage.

Festus apud Scheller: "Repotia postridie nuptias apud novum maritum cænatur. Quia quasi resicitur potatio."

³⁶⁰ An echo one might almost believe of a thought yet siner and more far reaching still: τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλὸν ἀγώνισμαι τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα λοιπὸν ἀπόκειταί μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος δν ἀποδώσει μοι ὁ Κύριος ἐν ἐκείνη τῆ ἡμέρα, κ. τ. λ.

³⁶² Pendeat ex humeris. Note this expression as suggesting that it is of the sull and slowing supervesture (and here the Toga) that he speaks, not of the Tunic.

candidus ærumnoso obsoletus: purpureus diviti, phæniceus 363 pauperi datur: militi chlamys purpurea induitur.364

"White vefture is for them that rejoice, and fad clothing for them that are oppressed with grief. Purple is bestowed upon the rich, dark red 363 upon the poor. A purple chlamys is the mantle of honour 364 for a foldier."

9. Martial, Epig. i. lvi. [After describing the pleasures of the country, where men can do as they like and dress as they like, he adds]:

Non amet hanc vitam quisquis me non amat opto, Vivat et urbanis albus in officiis.

The worst he will wish for his enemies is that they may be bored as he had often been, when at Rome, by the ceremonious etiquette of the Capital, on occasions in which the wearing of white dress was a kind of focial necessity. To the same effect he expresses himself elsewhere, when describing what to him appear the real blessings of life; one of which is "toga rara," the times sew and sar between, when one shall need to wear the long white robe of burdensome ceremony. I quote the epigram because of its own worth:—

AD JVLIVM MARTIALEM.

Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorem, Jucundissime Martialis, hæc sunt: Res non parta labore, sed relicta: Non ingratus ager, socus perennis; 365 Lis nunquam, toga rara, mens quieta; Vires ingenuæ, 366 salubre corpus, Prudens simplicitas, 367 pares amici, Convictus facilis, sine arte mensa: Mens non ebria, sed soluta curis:

363 Phæniceus. There were in Italy common, and not costly, dyes, of home produce, which furnished a colour approaching to purple, but without the lustre and brilliant colour of the more expensive Tyrian or Laconian dye. This is the "nostra plebeia purpura ac pæne fusca" of which Cicero speaks (pro Sextio); the μελαϊνα πορφύρα, which Plutarch attributes to Cato, opposing it to the ἐρυθρὰ καὶ ὀξεία (apud Oct. Ferr. p. 707, 2). Some such cheap and inferior purple is evidently here meant.

364 Militi chlamys purpurea induitur. He does not mean fimply "the foldier wears a purple chlamys," but, that a chlamys of purple would be the dress of honour put about the shoulders of a soldier, whom an "Imperator" defired to honour. For an example, see the passage in Commodus' letter to Albinus, quoted in the Introduction, cap. 3, p. xviii.

This usage of bestowing robes of various kinds as marks of imperial favour was one of the many Eastern customs imported into the West, of which, under the Empire, we find trace, and which in various ways have left their mark upon the usages even of modern fociety. Witness, for example, the mantle of purple, with which a Knight of the Garter is solemnly invested in the presence of his Sovereign. The history of the Papal "pallium," briefly stated in the Introduction (see Index in voc.), is a remarkable instance of the same kind.

365 Focus perennis (a permanent hearth, and fo), a house of one's own.

366 Vires ingenuæ (inborn, or natural, strength, and fo, with the words that follow), "frength and health."

³⁶⁷ Prudens fimplicitas. Φεόνιμοι ώς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀκέφαιοι ώς αἱ περιστεφαί. (Matt. x. 16.) Non trissis torus, attamen pudicus: Somnus, qui faciat breves tenebras: Quod sis, esse velis, nihilque malis: Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes.

(Lib. x. Epig. xlvii.)

10. Artemidori 377a Oneirocritica, lib. ii. cap. 3.

Περί ἐσθῆτος καὶ κόσμου παντοδάπου ἀνδρείου τε καὶ γυναικείου.

Περί εσθήτος και κόσμου παντοδάπου ποιούμενος τον λόγον πρῶτον περί άνδρείας σκευής, εγχωρίου τε καὶ ξένης, ήγοῦμαι δεῖν διαλαβεῖν. Ἐσθῆς ή συνήθης πᾶσιν άγαθή καὶ ή κατὰ την ώξαν τοῦ ἔτους. Θέχους μὲν γὰς ὅντος ὁθονία τε καὶ τριβακὰ ίματια δοκείν φορείν άγαθον αν είη και ύγιείας σύμβολον. Χειμώνος δε έρίνα ίματια, καὶ ταῦτα καινά. Μόνω δὲ τῷ δίκην ἔχοντι καὶ δουλείας ἀπαλλακτιῶντι πονηξὰ τὰ καινὰ ἰμάτια. Καὶ χειμῶνος βλέπεται (Leg. βλάπτει) διὰ τὸ πολλήν ἔχειν τρίψιν και έπιπολύ άντεχειν. Λευκά δὲ ἱμάτια τοῖς ἱερεῦσι μόνοις συμφέρει καὶ δούλοις Έλλήνων. Τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ταραχάς σημαίνει, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐν ὅχλω ἀναστρε-Φομένους λευκά έχειν ίμάτια. Χειροτέχναις δὲ άργίαν καὶ σχολήν. Καὶ όσω ἂν πολυτελεστέρα ή τὰ ἰμάτια τοσούτω πλείονα. Οὐ γὰς πρὸς ἔργων ὄντες οἱ ἀνθρωποι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τὰς βαναύσους τέχνας ἐξοναζόμενοι, λευκοῖς ἱματίοις χξῶνται. Δοῦλοι (Leg. δούλοις) δὲ Ρωμαίων μόνοις τοῖς εὖ πράσσουσι* τοῖς δὲ ἀλλοις πονηρόν. χει γάς τους κακῶς πεάσσοντας, διά τε (Leg. διά τε τὸ) τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς δεσπόταις ώς επιπλεϊστον έχειν εσθήτα επί τούτω τῷ ὀνείρω οὐ γίνονται έλεύθεροι ώσπες οί τῶν Έλλήνων. 'Ανδεί δὲ νοσοῦντι λευκὰ ἔχειν ἱμάτια θάνατον πεοσαγοεεύει' διὰ τὸ τοὺς άποθανόντας εν λευκοῖς εκφέρεσθαι. Τὸ δὲ μέλαν ἱμάτιον σωτηρίαν προσημαίνει οὐ γάς οἱ ἀποθανόντες ἀλλ' οἱ πενθοῦντες τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας τοιούτοις χρῶνται. Οἶδα δὲ ἐγὰ πολλοὺς καὶ πένητας καὶ δούλους καὶ δεσμώτας νοσοῦντας, οἶ καὶ μέλανα δοκούντες έχειν ίματια απεθανον. ἦν γὰς είκὸς τούτους μὴ ἐν λευκοῖς διὰ τὴν ἀποςίαν έκκομισθήσεσθαι. "Εστι δὲ ἄλλως ἡ μελαῖνα ἐσθὴς πᾶσι πονηξά πλὴν τῶν τὰ λαθεαία έργαζομένων. Ποικίλην δὲ ἐσθῆτα ἔχειν ἢ ἀλουργίδα ίερεῦσι μὲν καὶ θυμελικοϊς και σκηνικοϊς και τοῖς περί τον Διονύσον μόνοις τεχνίταις συμφέρει. Τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ταραχὰς καὶ κινδύνους μόνους ἐπιφέρει, καὶ τὰ κρυπτά ἐλέγχει. Τοὺς δὲ νοσοῦντας ὑπὸ δειμέων χύμων καὶ πολλῆς χολῆς ἐνοχληθῆναι σημαίνει. Ποεφυςὰ δὲ ἐσθής δούλοις ἀγαθή καὶ πλουσίοις. οξε μὲν γάρ διὰ τὸ μὴ μετεϊναι ἐλευθερίαν σημαίνει οίς δὲ διὰ τὸ μη ἐπιτάττειν, καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι κατάλληλον είναι, τιμήν καὶ εὐδοξίαν προαγορεύει. Νοσοῦντα δὲ ἀναιρεῖ καὶ πένητα βλάπτει πολλοῖς δὲ καἰ δεσμά πεοήγγειλε. Χεή γάε τον έχοντα ποεφύραν πάντως διάδημα ή στέφανον έχειν, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀκολουθοὺς ἢ Φύλακας. Τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις τὰ αὐτὰ τῆ ἀλουργίδι σημαίνει. Κοκκίνη δὲ [ἐσθης] καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τοιαύτη ἐσθης ἢ πορφυgoβαφής οἷς μεν τραύματα, οἷς δε πυρετόν ἐπιφέρει. Γυναικεία δε ἐσθής ἀγάμοις μόνοις συμφέρει, καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ θυμέλην ἀναβαίνουσιν οἱ μὲν γάρ γαμήσουσιν οὐτω καταθυμίους γυναϊκας ώστε τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι κόσμοις οἱ δὲ διά τὸ ἐν τῆ ὑποκρίσει έθος μεγάλας έξγασίας καὶ μίσθους λήψονται. Τοὺς δε λοιποὺς καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν στηςίσκει καὶ νόσφ μεγάλη περιβάλλει, διὰ τὸ μαλθακὸν καὶ ἀσθενὲς τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα φοξούντων. Έν μὲν ταῖς ἑοξταῖς καὶ παυηγύξεσιν οὖτε ποικίλη οὖτε γυναικεία βλάπτει

²⁶⁷ a See note μ , p. xi., for particulars concerning this Writer.

τινα ἐσθής. 368 Βαββαβικὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα ἔχειν ἐνεσκευασμένην ὥσπες οἱ βάββαβοι ἐκεῖ μὲν ἀπιέναι βουλόμενω ὅπου τοιαύτη ἐσθῆτι χρῶνται οἱ διατρίβοντες, ἀγαθὰς τὰς ἐκεῖ διατριβὰς σημαίνει. Πολλακὶς δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖ καταβιᾶναι προαγγέλλει. Τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς νόσον καὶ ἀπραγίαν δηλοῖ. Τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἡ 'Ρωμαικὴ ἐσθὴς ἡν νῦν τίβενον 368 α καλοῦσιν.

Μαλακή δὲ ἐτθήτι καὶ πολυτελεῖ χρήσθαι πλουσίοις μὲν ἀγαθὸν καὶ πένησιν οἶς ριεν γάς ή παςούσα διαμένει τουφή, οίς δε φαιδρότερα τὰ πράγματα έσται. Δούλοις δὲ καὶ ἀπόροις νόσον προαγορεύει. Κολοβαὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπρεπεῖς ἐσθητες ζημίας καὶ άπραξίας σημαίνουσι. Χλαμύς δε ην ενίοι μανδύην, οι δε εφεστρίδα, οι δε βήριον, καλούσι, θλίψιν καὶ στενοχωρίαν καὶ τοῖς δικαζομένοις καταδικην μαντεύεται, διά τὸ ἐμπεριέχειν τὸ σῶμα. Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος Φαινόλης καὶ εἴτι ἄλλο τούτοις όμοίον είη βθεν ἀπολλύειν τὰ ἱμάτια ταῦτα ἢ ἔχειν βέλτιον. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ίματίων οὐθὲν ἀπολλύμενον συμφέχει, εἰ μή που τοῖς πένησι καὶ δούλοις καὶ δεδεμένοις ἢ καταχεέοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν συνοχῆ οὖσιν. ᾿Απολλύμενα γὰς ταῦτα τῶν πεςιεχόντων τὸ σῶμα κακῶν ἀπώλειαν σημαίνει. Τοῖς δὲ ἀλλοις οὐτε γυμνοῦσθαι οὐτε ίματια απολλύειν αγαθόν πᾶν γάς τὸ πεὸς κόσμον τινος απολέσθαι σημαίνει. Γυναικί δὲ ποικίλη καὶ ἀνθηρὰ ἐσθὴς συμφέρει, μάλιστα δὲ ἑταίρα καὶ πλουσία 'Η ρεεν γας δια την έργασίαν, ή δε δια την τρυφήν, ανθηραίς έσθησεσι χρώνται. Τα δε ίδιόχεοα ίμάτια πᾶσιν άγαθὸν σημαίνουσι, καὶ μάλιστα τοίς εὐλαβουμένοις έλεγχθηναι γάς ούχ έᾶ τὸ τοιοῦτον χρώμα. ᾿Αεὶ δὲ ἄμεινον καθαρά καὶ λαμπρά ἰμάτια έχειν και πεπλυμένα καλῶς ἡ ρυπαρά και ἀπλυτα, πλὴν τῶν τὰς ρυπωθεῖς ἐργασίας εεγαζομενων.

II. Of the entire passage, as given above, I would call more particular attention to the following, as bearing upon questions discussed in the Introduction to this Treatise.

SIGNIFICANCE OF WHITE GARMENTS.

a. "White garments (seen in dreams) are a sign of good only for priests, 369 and for slaves in Greece. To all others they are a sign of troubles, because it is in the busy crowd (of great cities) that men wear white garments. But to artizans they portend idleness, and leisure; and then the more complete in proportion to their greater costliness. For men wear not white garments when at work, especially if engaged in the humble mechanical trades."

THE DEAD CLAD IN WHITE: MOURNERS IN BLACK.

3. "To a fick man the wearing white garments is an announcement of

cause, as we shall see below, this was not the case. But days of facrifice, and of public sestivity accompanied by facrifice, were days on which white dress was assumed by the people generally; and such days were days of profit to the lower order of priests, and of public honour to those higher in station.

 $^{^{368}}$ This statement, that a dress like that of women, and of varied colours, is for harm to none in time of seasts or public assemblies, has been already noticed. See Introduction, p. xi, note μ .

³⁶⁸ a Tibevos or ThBevvos, a " toga."

²⁶⁹ He does not mean that priests on days of facrifice wore none but white garments, be-

death; because it is in white that the dead are carried out to burial. But a black robe is a fign of recovery; for it is not the dead, but they that mourn for the dead, that are so dressed."

GAUDY COLOURED DRESS.

γ. "The wearing of parti-coloured or of sea-purple dress, bringeth good to priests, to stage-players, and actors, and among artizans to those only who have to do with Dionysus. But to all others they portend trouble and danger only; and serve to the detection of secrets. And for such as are sick they are significant of oppression by acrid humours, and much bile." [To this may be added what follows later in the Chapter.] "To women, parti-coloured garments, coloured like unto slowers, are of good import, especially to harlots, and to the rich. For harlots, because of their occupation, and the rich, out of luxury, wear garments such as these."

Robes of Purple, and Scarlet.

δ. "Robes of purple are of good fign for flaves, and for rich men; to the former because, slaves having no right to such, they are fignificant of freedom; to the rich, because in respect of wealth alone they have no power to command; and purple, being correlative to official dignity, portendeth to them rank and reputation. But purple is death to a sick man, and harmful to one in poverty. And in many cases they have been found to foretell even bonds. For the wearer of purple must needs have either the band (diadem) that is proper to kings, or a chaplet (στέφανος, note 54) [bound about his brow], and be surrounded with many attendants or guards. But to such as work in matters pertaining to the worship of Dionysus, ordinary purple has the same significance as the sea-purple. Vestments of scarlet and the like, and such as are dyed purple, portend wounds to some, to others sever."

THE CHLAMYS AND THE PÆNULA.

s. "The Chlamys, which fome call Mandyas, others Ephestris, others Berion, foretelleth trouble, and difficulty, and to men under trial, condemnation, because of its compassing and confining the body. And like to this is the fignificance of what is called a 'Pænula,' and of other garments of the same kind."

VESTMENTS OF HEATHEN PRIESTHOOD.

12. Tyrian Priests wore a χιτὰν πλατύσημος, i.e., a Tunic with a broad band (clavus), probably of purple. Herodianus, lib. v. apud Ferrar. He is speaking of the honorary Priests of Elagabalus or Heliogabalus, the Syro-Phænician

Sun-God. τὰ σπλάγχνα τῶν ἱερουργηθέντων τὰ τε ἀρώματα ἐν χρυσοῖς σπεύεσιν ὑπὲς κεφαλῆς οὐκ οἰκέται δη τινὲς ἢ εὐτελεῖς ἄνθρωποι ἔφερον, ἀλλ' οἴτ' ἔπαρχοι τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις πράξεσιν, ἀνεζωσμένοι χιτῶνας ποδήρεις καὶ χειριδωτοὺς, νόμῷ Φοινίκων, ἐν μέσφ φέροντες μίαν ποζφύραν. ὅτο ποδήμασι δὲ λίνου πεποιημένοις ἔχρῶντο, ώσπες οἱ κατ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία προφητεύοντες.

13. So in Tyrian colonies, as for example, the Priests of Hercules (Melcarth) at Gades: Silius Italicus, Punica, lib. iii.

Nec discolor ulli
Ante aras cultus; velantur corpora lino,
Ex Pelusiaco præfulget stamine vertex: ³⁷¹
Discinctis ³⁷² mos thura dare, atque e lege parentum
Sacrificam lato vestem distinguere clavo.

- 14. To the same effect is what Tertullian says of the Priests of Saturnus at Carthage. De Pallio, cap. 4, p. 213.
- "Latioris purpuræ ambitio,373 et Galatici374 ruboris superjectio, Saturnum commendat."

In the same place he speaks of the Priests of Ceres as dressed wholly in white, those of Bellona in dark and gloomy garb.

- "Cur . . . non spectas . . . illos habitus qui novitati suæ stare religionem mentiuntur, cum ob cultum omnia candidatum, et ob notam vitæ, et privilegium galeri, 375 Cereri initiantur; cum ob diversam affectionem tenebricæ vestis, et tetrici super caput velleris, in Bellonæ mentes (al. montes) sugantur."
- 15. Priests of Dionysus wore purple. See Artemidorus, quoted above, No. 10, and Clement of Alexandria, $P \alpha d$. lib. ii. cap. 9, quoted later in this Appendix. See No. 39.
- 16. At Rome the *Pontifices* wore a *Toga prætexta* (i.e., bordered with purple). See Lampridius, quoted in note v, p. xi. And to the same effect is that of Livy (xl. 42), when, in speaking of the *Triumviri Epulones*, 376 he says that to them idem ut Pontifici lege datum togæ prætextæ babendæ jus.

³⁷⁰ μίαν ποςφύςαν, i.e. a fingle band or ftripe (clavus) of purple. Compare Silius Italicus in No. 13.

³⁷¹ That is, they wear a cap, or μίτρα, made of fine Egyptian linen.

³⁷² This points to the long tunic, not girt up by any cingulum.

word (ambitio) may possibly be used with reference to its literal meaning, "going round," and so of "the compassing" of the vestment, on its border, by a broad purple stripe. But the more probable meaning (as the previous

context shows) is "the ambition of wearing a broad purple stripe" corresponding to the latus clavus of Roman use. The words here commented on refer to the Tunica; the fuper-jestio, &c. (ἐπένδυμα) to the Super-vestment.

³⁷⁴ Galaticus rubor, i.e. fearlet. Plinii Hist. Nat. xxii. cap. 11. Insici vestes scimus admirabili sacco. Atque ut sileamus Galatiæ, Africæ, Lusitaniæ cocci granum Imperatoriis paludamentis dicatum, &c. &c.

³⁷⁵ Note 124, p. 72.

³⁷⁶ Triumviri Epulones. Commissioners who regulated the public facrificial feasts.

17. When facrificing, the Pontiffs commonly covered the head with a portion of this *Prætexta*. To this Virgil alludes, when he represents Helenus giving directions to Æneas as to the ceremonial dress of facrifice: Æn. iii. 404.

Quin ubi transmisse steterint trans æquora classes, Et positis aris jam vota in littore solves, Purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu, ³⁷⁷ Ne qua inter sanctos ignes in honore Deorum Hostilis facies occurrat, et omina turbet.

- 18. So also Flamens wore purple (Servius on Æneid iv.), and Augurs a *Trabea* of purple and scarlet, known as δίβαφον. Hence the allusion of Cicero when writing to Atticus (ad Att. ii. 9), he says:—
- "Proinde isti licet faciant quos volent Consules, Tribunos plebis; denique etiam Vatinii strumam sacerdotii διβάφω vestiant" (i.e. let them make Vatinius an Augur.).

PART II. ASSOCIATIONS OF COLOUR IN HOLY SCRIPTURE.

- 19. White Robes are fymbolic of joy, Eccl. ix. 8: of purity and cleanfing from fin, If. i. 18; Dan. xii. 10; Rev. iii. 4, 5; Rev. vii. 13, 14: of righteoufness, Rev. xix. 8.
- 20. In white angels are clothed, Matt. xxviii. 3; Mark, xvi. 5; Acts, i. 10. In white, too, our Lord was feen in vision at the Transfiguration, Matt. xvii. 2; Mark, ix. 3. In white "The Ancient of Days" was feen in vision by Daniel, Dan. vii. 9.
- 21. White are the robes of Levites at the Dedication of Solomon's Temple, 2 Chron. v. 12. White (because made of Linen, note 16) the robes of Priests. White the robes with which the High-priest entered the Holy of Holies, on the Day of Atonement. See Philo Judæus, quoted at p. 8, and see note 17, p. 7.

RED.

- 22. Red is the colour of wine (the blood of the grape), Gen. xlix. 12; Pf. lxxv. 8; Prov. xxiii. 36; If. lxiii. 2.
- 23. Red is the colour of blood (2 Kings, iii. 22, &c.), and fo affociated with the idea of battle, Nahum, ii. 3; Zech. i. 8; Rev. vi. 4.
- 24. Red is also a royal colour, and used in the decoration of kings' palaces (Esther, i. 6). And as such probably used in the decoration of the "House of God," King of kings, and Lord of lords.
 - 25. But at other times red is affociated with the idea of fin ("Thy fins,

³⁷⁷ This line is quoted by St. Jerome, on Ezek. xliv. See above, p. 30, in fin.

though they be red like crimfon"), If. i. 18; or with the impersonation of Sin described, in Rev. xii. 3, as a great dragon having seven heads and ten horns.

BLUE.

- 26. Blue is (like red) a royal colour, Esther, i. 6, used especially in "royal apparel," Esther, viii. 15. Compare Ezek. xxiii. 6.
- 27. It was used (compare No. 24) in the decoration of the Tabernacle and Temple (Exod., Numb., 2 Chron., passim) and in the vestments of the High-priest, Exod. xxviii. 31, &c.
- 28. We also find it mentioned as one of the products of "Tyrus," Ezek. xxvii. 7, 24; and affociated with purple in the clothing of idols, Jer. x. 9.

SCARLET.378

- 29. Scarlet is a royal colour, 2 Sam. i. 24; Lam. iv. 5; Dan. v. 7, 16, 29.
- 30. As fuch, probably, it was used in the decoration of the Tabernacle (compare Nos. 24 and 27) and of the Temple, 2 Chron. ii. 7; and in the vestments of the High-priest, Exod. xxviii. 6, &c.
- 31. From its refemblance to the colour of blood it has a fymbolical use in "cleansing from sin" ("without shedding of blood there is no remission"). Lev. xiv. 4; Heb. ix. 19.
- 32. As being a brilliant and very costly colour it was rarely used by unofficial persons, as an ordinary colour of dress, save by the very wealthy, or by immodest women. (See above, No. 11, γ .) Hence it is sometimes spoken of in Scripture (as elsewhere) as a meretricious colour, Rev. xvii, 4, 5, or as symbolical of sin generally, Is. i. 18; Rev. xvii. 3.

PURPLE.

- 33. Purple is a royal colour, Judg. viii. 26; Efther, i. 6; viii. 15; Mark, xv. 17.
- 34. As such (compare Nos. 27, 30) it had its use in the Tabernacle, Numb. iv. 13.

are clothed with fcarlet," i.e. by her prudence and wife management there is abundance of clothing, even the most costly, for all that need.

offlines, only by the wealthy. This probably explains the phrase employed in Prov. xxxi. 21, where, in speaking of the "virtuous woman," it is said that "all her household

35. And for a fimilar reason, when used by private persons, it is regarded as a proof, sometimes of abundant wealth, Prov. xxxi. 22 (where the clothing of "the virtuous woman" is silk and purple), more often of luxury and self-indulgence, as in Luke, xvi. 19.

PART III. ASSOCIATIONS OF COLOUR IN EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITERS.

36. Clemens Alexandrinus, Pædag. lib. ii. p. 233.

"I honour that ancient Lacedæmonian people, who allowed none but harlots to wear garments wrought like unto flowers, and ornaments of gold."

Sellers of Incense and Dyers of Wools should be banished from the Commonwealth of Truth.

37. Ibid. p. 208. [He had been speaking with strongest condemnation of the use of unguents, and scents, and incense, and the like (for purposes of luxury), and he adds]:

"With good reason, to my judgment, did they act, who, indignant at seeing pains bestowed on things like these, held scents and unguents in such ill esteem, as emasculating all manliness of character, that they banished the makers of them from well-ordered states, and did treat no otherwise the dyers of various wools. An unrighteous thing it were that garments sull of deceit, and unguents, should find their way into the city of truth. . . And if perchance it should be said, that the Lord, the great High-priest, offereth the incense of sweet savour unto God, let them learn that this is no sacrifice and sweet savour of (actual) incense, but that which the Lord doth offer is the acceptable oblation of holy love, the spiritual sweet savour, upon the altar."

DYED GARMENTS SIGNS OF AN EVIL DISPOSITION.

38. Ibid. p. 234.

"All dyed colours should be avoided in dress; for these are far away both from man's need, and from truth; and beside this they give proof of evil in the inward disposition."

GARMENTS DYED LIKE UNTO FLOWERS, FIT ONLY FOR WORSHIPPERS OF BACCHUS, FOR HEATHEN PRIESTS, AND STAGE PLAYERS.

39. Ibid. p. 235. "For men that are pure and unadulterate in heart a white and fimple garb is the most fitting for their use. Plainly and purely speaketh Daniel the prophet. Thrones, saith he, were set, and one took bis seat thereon as it were the Antient of Days: and His raiment was white like snow. And the Revelation speaketh of beholding the Lord in the like vesture. "I saw at the foot of the altar the souls of them hat thad testified for Christ, and there was given unto each one white raiment." But if need should be for seeking

any other colour, that natural colour which is of truth, sufficeth. But garments coloured like unto flowers are fit only for Bacchic rites, and for the mummeries of heathen priests. Purple, too, and silver tissues, are for tragedy players, not for real life, as the comic poet writes. Whereas the life of us Christian folk should be anything rather than a vain pomp."

THE SPIRITUAL MEANING OF THAT WHICH IS WRITTEN CONCERNING "THE RAIMENT OF GOLD WROUGHT ABOUT WITH DIVERS COLOURS."

40. *Ibid.* p. 236. He had been fpeaking in ftrong condemnation of women wearing gaudy colours, fuch as those above spoken of. And left any should defend this by alleging words of Scripture, which, as he judged, were to be spiritually understood, he writes as follows:

"What though the word of God by the mouth of David speaketh in Psalm concerning the Lord, saying, Kings' daughters were among thine bonourable women: on thy right hand stood the queen in a vesture of gold, and with garments fringed with gold was she compassed about. 379 In this he would have us to understand not raiment of luxurious softness, but that which is wrought of faith, the incorruptible adornment of them that have received mercy, the adornment of the Church; wherein Jesus, the guileless one, shineth out as gold, and the fringes, made of gold, are the elect."

IN WHITE TRUE BEAUTY IS TO BE FOUND.

41. Ibid. p. 239. "Why is it then that ye are attracted by that which is rare and costly, rather than by that which is ready to your hand and of easy purchase? It is because ye know not what is the truly beautiful, and the truly good; and, in place of realities, bestow your pains upon what is esteemed only among men of no understanding, to whose imagination, as with men mad, white and black seem both alike."

TERTULLIAN.380

DYED COLOURS DISPLEASING TO GOD.

42. De Habitu Muliebri, cap. 8. "Quis est vestium honor justus de adulterio colorum injustorum? Non placet Deo quod non ipse produxit, nisi si non potuit purpureas et aerias 381 oves nasci jubere. Si potuit, ergo jam noluit: quod Deus noluit, utique non licet singi." 382

³⁷⁹ In this prophecy, Amalarius (quoted at p. 99) fees a reference to the dalmatic. The two comments, those of Clement and Amalarius, present an instructive contrast.

³⁸⁰ Born at Carthage, circ. A.D. 150. Embraced Christianity A.D. 185. Died A.D. 220. His middle life was spent partly at Rome, and

partly (at a later period) at Carthage.

Aerias, i.e. of the colour of the sky.

³⁸² Whatever may be thought of the logic of this argument, the passage is good evidence as to the feeling of Tertullian in refpect of the costly colours of which he is speaking.

Dyed Colours Meretricious.

43. Ibid. p. 68. "Illa civitas valida quæ fuper montes septem et plurimas aquas præsidet, cum prostitutæ appellationem a Domino meruisset, quali habitu appellationis suæ comparata est? Sedet certe in purpura cum coccino et auro et lapide pretioso."

THE TRUE PURPLE OF THE CHRISTIAN MAN.

44. De Corona Militis, cap. 13. [He is addressing the Christian man as at once a foldier of Christ, and a citizen of the Jerusalem that is above.]

"Coronant et publicos ordines laureis publicæ cause, magistratus vero insuper aureis. . . . Sed tui ordines et tui magistratus, et ipsum Curiæ 383 nomen, Ecclesia est Christi. Illic purpuræ tuæ, Sanguis Domini; et clavus latus, in Cruce ipsius: illic securis, 384 ad caudicem arboris posita: illic virgæ, 385 ex radice Jesse."

APPENDIX B.

PASSAGES OF EARLY WRITERS INDICATIVE OF A LEVITICAL ORIGIN FOR CHRISTIAN VESTMENTS.

The monuments, whether of literature or of art, during the first eight hundred years of Christian history, point with an overwhelming weight of concurrent testimony to the conclusion, that the vestments of Christian ministry were not modelled upon those of Levitical priesthood.

In all those monuments, as far as we have seen hitherto, there has been no indication of any but white 386 vestments being worn; no trace anywhere

am aware, is one of those exceptions "that prove the rule." We learn incidentally from a notice in the Gesta Pontificum Romanorum, quoted by Walasrid Strabo (p. 106), and by Anastasius, that attempts were made at Rome, in the pontificate of Sylvester (314-335), to introduce the use of coloured cloth, and of filk, in the vestments of Christian ministry. For

³⁸³ He alludes to the etymological connection between Curia and πυριακή.

³⁸⁴ This points probably to the blood that flowed from the pierced fide.

³⁸⁵ Securis, and again virgæ, in allusion to the axe and rods borne by the lictors of the higher magistrates.

³⁸⁶ The only exception to this, of which I

of any intentional imitation of the diffinctive characteristics of the dress of Levitical priesthood, viz. the coloured girdle, and the priestly cap, of priests of the second order; the gorgeously coloured super-vestments, the jewelled "rational," the cap with its golden plate, worn by the high-priest.

But it is defirable to notice, and to give all due weight to, a few facts that may be alleged as pointing to an opposite conclusion. It should not be forgotten, in dealing with questions such as those now before us, that between the Aaronic priesthood and the priesthood of the Christian Church, there are many points of close analogy, though there are also points of important difference. These points of analogy, suggested as they are by many passages of Holy Scripture, were recognised from the very earliest times by ecclesiastical writers. One effect of this was, that titles, properly applicable to the older priesthood, were, sparingly at first, but with an ever-increasing freedom as time went on, applied to the several orders of the Christian ministry. And this being the case, it would be strange if we did not find here and there some recognition, in like manner, of certain features of analogy 386 a between the vestments of the Christian bishop or priest, and the Levitical vestments of the older Church.

Some ³⁸⁷ passages, of the kind now spoken of, have already been quoted, and their language carefully considered. And I take this opportunity of adding thereto such other passages of early writers as might be thought to invalidate the general conclusions, as to the origin of Christian vestments, which have been set forth in the Introduction to this treatise.

1. The first in date occurs in the well-known sermon, or rather oration, pronounced by Eusebius of Cæsarea, at the opening of the great Church at Tyre, after the public recognition of Christianity by Constantine the Great. It is given at full length by its author in the tenth book of his Ecclesiastical History. Written in a style of florid rhetoric from first to last, the leading thought that pervades it is that of a comparison between the magnificent church, for the consecration of which they were affembled, and the Temple of Solomon. Addressing the Bishop of Tyre, Paulinus, the speaker knows not whether to regard him as a second Bezaleel, or as another Solomon, king of a new and better Jerusalem, or as the Zorobabel of their own day, crowning

Sylvester found it necessary to forbid their use. Hic constituit ut sacrificium altaris non in serico neque in panno tincto celebraretur, nist tantum in linteo ex terreno lino procreato, sicut corpus Domini Nostri Jesu Christi in sindone lintea munda sepultum est, et sic Missa celebraretur. [Anastasii V. P. R. in S. Sylvestro, p. 105.] There are abundant proofs (especially in the notices preserved by Anastasius) of a vast accession to the splendour of divine service generally, at Rome and essewhere, from the time of "the conversion of Constantine." But it is plain from this passage, and from the evidence of subsequent centuries, that little if any change

was then permitted in the fimple but dignified dress of Christian ministry.

^{386a} As in S. Germanus quoted above, p. 82, note 141. With his expression closely agrees, that of Martinus, Bishop of Braga (circ. 572 A.D.), in the collection known as the Capitula Martini Episcopi. Labbe, tom. v. p. 912, Canon lxvi. "Non oportet clericos comam nutrire, et sic ministrare, sed attonso capite, patentibus auribus; et secundum Aaron talarem vestem induere, ut sint in babitu ordinato."

³⁸⁷ See note 59, p. 37; note 62, p. 39; note 65, p. 41.

the temple of God with that glory, better than the former, which belongeth to these last times. And it is in accordance with this strain that he addresses the assembled clergy as "friends of God, and priests (ingests) clad in the holy vesture that reacheth to the seet, and with the heavenly crown of glory, and with the unction of inspiration, and the priestly vesture of the Holy Spirit." 388

Now I am free to confess that I can only understand these words as highly figurative throughout. The "fticharion," white and glistening, which was no doubt worn both by bishops and priests there assembled before him, was, in point of fact, a seature in common between the Jewish and the Christian dress. But precisely for the reason (so at least it seems to me) that in all the other, and more distinctive, features of the Jewish facerdotal dress, no counterpart was to be found in the actual dress of those before him, he speaks of "the glory," and the "unction," and the "Holy Spirit," as spiritual robes, which the priesthood of the new covenant may rightly claim as their own.

But among modern writers there are some who see the matter in a very different light, and find in this passage proof that the bishops of that day wore mitres (x18degs15) or priestly caps, after the model of the Jewish priests, and had also sacerdotal robes modelled upon the same style.

I leave it to my readers to decide between the two interpretations.

2. Another passage, closely resembling this, is to be found in the fourth discourse of Gregory Nazianzen. The passage referred to is the following. He is addressing his father, then Bishop of Nazianzum, who had been desirous of associating his son with himself in the duties of the episcopal office, for which at his greatly advanced age he felt himself unequal. St. Gregory says, (referring to this), "Thou soughtest that a second Barnabas might be joined, as helper, to thyself a second Paul; that to Silvanus and Timotheus, a Titus also should be added, that so the gift of God that is in thee might have free course, by means of them that naturally have care for thee, and that from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum thou mightest sulfil the work of an evangelist. For this cause it is that thou bringest one forth, and settest him in the midst, and layest hold on him, though he would draw back, and settest him beside thyself ('This,' you will perhaps say, 'is my only wrong'); and makest him partaker both of the cares of thine office, and of its crowns. Therefore, 390 it is that thou anointest the chief priest, and puttest about [him]

εἰς μέσον ἄγεις, καὶ ὑποχωροῦντος λαμβάνη, καὶ παρὰ σεαυτὸν καθίζεις: Τοῦτο τὸ ἐμὸν ἀδίκημα, φαίης ἄν' καὶ κοινωνὸν ποιῆ τῶν φροντίδων καὶ τῶν στεφάνων. διὰ τοῦτο χρίεις τὸν ἀρχιερία, καὶ περιβάλλεις τὸν ποδήρη, καὶ περιτίθης τὸν κίδαριν, καὶ προσάγεις τῷ θυσιαστηρίφ τῆς πνευματικῆς ὁλοκαυτώσεως, καὶ τελειοῖς τὰς χείρας τῷ πνευματι, καὶ εἰσάγεις κεὶ τὰς χείρας τῷ πνευματι, καὶ εἰσάγεις εἰς τὰ ἀγια τῶν ἀγίων ἐποπτεύσοντα, καὶ ποιεῖς λειτουργόν τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς ἀληθινῆς, ἡν ἔπηξεν ὁ Κυριος οὐκ ἄγρωπος.

 $^{^{388}}$ Ω $\phi(\lambda oi$ $\Theta \epsilon o\tilde{\nu}$ $xa\lambda$ $i \epsilon \epsilon s i \epsilon$, of $\tau \delta \nu$ $a \gamma i o \nu$ $\tau o \delta \eta \epsilon \eta$, $xa\lambda$ $\tau o \nu$ $o b \varrho a \nu v o \tau i \delta$ $\delta \delta \xi \eta s$ $\sigma \tau \epsilon \varrho a \nu o \nu$, $\tau \delta$ τs $\chi \varrho i \sigma \iota a$ $\tau \delta$ $\delta \nu \ell e o$, $xa\lambda$ $\tau h \nu$ $i \epsilon \varrho a \tau \iota x h \nu$ $i \epsilon \rho a \tau i x h \nu$ $i \epsilon \rho a \tau i \lambda h \nu$ $i \epsilon \rho$

³⁸⁹ Born A.D. 324, Bp. of Conftantinople in 378, died in 389. See vol. i. of his collected works (Morell), p. 136, Oratio v. in fin.

³⁹⁰ The original is as follows. Dià Touto

the (ποδήςη) prieftly robe, and fetteft the prieft's cap about his head, and bringeft him unto the altar of the spiritual burnt sacrifice, and slayest the calf of consecration, and dost consecrate his hands with the spirit, and bringest him into the holy of holies, as one that shall see the hidden things of the Lord, and makest him a minister of the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched and not man. But whether he 39' be worthy both of you that anoint him, and of Him for whom, and unto whom, is that anointing, this He only knoweth who is the Father of the true anointed one (Χειστός), whom He anointed with the oil of gladness above His fellows, bestowing upon humanity the unction of divinity, so as to make of these twain one."

Upon this passage I need add little to what I have said above upon the similar language of Eusebius. It is evident that many of the expressions (such as that of "flaying the calf of consecration"), cannot by any possibility be regarded as more than figurative phrases, drawn from the analogies of the rites of consecration under the Levitical law. And this sact is enough to mark the character of the whole passage. On the other hand, it is only right to say, that there is a strong probability that in pursuing this comparison into detail, as he does, the writer would fix upon such points in the older rites as had something analogous to them in Christian consecration. The "sticharion," or long white tunic of the Christian ministry, offered a point of comparison with the rollings of Levitical ministry. And the mention of the rillings, which follows, would lead one to suppose that among the ministering vestments of St. Gregory's time, there might be something corresponding to the cap or mitre of the Levitical priest.

But the more direct evidence of antiquity points, as in the Introduction has been shown, to a directly opposite conclusion. And if St. Gregory really had present to his mind any episcopal vestment (so to call it), which he regarded as correspondent to the Levitical xidagis, I should suppose that it was either a close sitting skull-cap, such as that which Eusebius of Cæsarea is represented as wearing, in Pl. XXVII., or some such distinctive head-dress as that, with which, at a later time certainly, the out-door dress of bishops and patriarchs was distinguished.

Dr. Hefele, who has examined this question at some length, after referring briefly to the two passages above quoted, goes on to speak of the following passages, which he thinks point to an early use of a distinctive head-dress by Christian bishops.

3. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxix. cap. 5. He describes the submission of Firmus to Theodosius, the general sent into Mauritania against him. He says that, Ne quid ultimæ rationis omitteret, Christiani ritus antistites oraturos pacem cum obsidibus misst. These being kindly received, two days later, militaria signa et coronam sacerdotalem cum cæteris quæ interceperat, nihil cunc-

³⁸¹ St. Gregory is alluding throughout to himself, as the person who had been made bishop against his own wish. But he avoids

direct mention of himself in the first per-

tatus restituit, ut præceptum est. The historian, who writes about this corona sacerdotalis is himself a heathen; and it is in the highest degree improbable, even on this ground only, that he should use the term sacerdotalis thus absolutely in speaking of Christian bishop or priest. There can be little, if any, doubt, that this was one of those richer crowns, made of precious metal, which we know 392 to have been worn by the priests of some among the heathen gods.

- 4. Dr. Hefele also lays great stress (but I venture to think, without strong ground for so doing) on passages 393 in which the word infula occurs in connection with Christian vestments. According to classical usage one meaning of infula undoubtedly was that of a long band, made either of linen or of wool, which was sastened about the head of priests, or hung round the neck, or the body, of victims 394 to be offered in facristice. But the word was not confined to this meaning, but was often used of the insignia of imperial or magisterial rank, and had nearly the meaning (in some instances) of an "official vestment," context alone determining what the nature of that vestment might be. And I am confirmed in the belief that, in the passages quoted by Dr. Hesele, infula has this wider meaning, by finding most certain proof that, even as late as the twelsth century, the word was used as a synonym for the casual or planeta. (See note 268, in fin. p. 133.)
- 5. Another passage is quoted from Ennodius, a Christian poet (his Christianity better than his poetry, we may charitably hope, after reading the lines that follow). He wrote about the close of the fifth century. Speaking in praise of St. Ambrose, he expresses himself as follows [Epig. 77]:

Roscida regissico cui fulsit murice lingua, Vere suo pingens germina quæ voluit. Serta redimitus gestabat lucida fronte; Distinctum gemmis ore parabat opus.

Dr. Hefele quotes the third line of this passage, without its context, as

392 See, e.g. the quotation from Tertullian, De Cor. Mil. Jupra, p. xiv.

293 Such are Prudentius Clemens, Periftephanon, iv. 9. He is finging the praifes of the city of Saragossa (Cæsar-Augusta), and of the martyrs of whom it could boast. He adds, "Hinc facerdotum domus infulata Valeriorum." He writes about the year 400 A.D., and refers in these words to Valerius, Bp. of Saragossa, and to others of the same samily.

Again, Pope Gelasius speaks in one of his letters of a bishop as being clericalibus infulis reprobabilis (unworthy to wear the dress of a cleric). Here the use of the plural confirms the interpretation given above.

In like manner in a life of St. Willibald,

written in the eighth century, his confectation as bishop is spoken of as the time when he had bestowed upon him facerdotalis infulæ honorem.

And St. Boniface (note 209, p. 106) is represented (in a biography dating from the eleventh century) as writing to the Bishop of Rome concerning Burchard of Wurzburg, to fay that he was pontificali infula dignus.

³⁹⁴ See, for example, Pl. III., where the bull, being led away for flaughter, has fuch *infulæ* hung about him:

Stans hostia ad aram, Lanea dum nivea circumdatur infula vitta.

Virg.

a proof that bishops in the days of St. Ambrose wore a distinctive head-dress.³⁹⁵ But a moment's reference to the context is sufficient to show how entirely ungrounded is such an inference.^{395a} Throughout these lines it is of the eloquence of St. Ambrose that Ennodius is speaking; and the "bright garlands which crowned his brow," are no more to be taken literally, than is the "royal purple," with which "bis tongue glowed," or the "work bedecked with jewels," which he "sashioned with bis lips."

Other authorities quoted by Martene in support of the antiquity of the episcopal "mitra," are the following:

6. Theodulfus, Bishop of Orleans, writing circ. A.D. 800, is describing the "Ornamenta Pontificis" (so Martene writes), and employs the following expression (lib. iii. carm. 5):

Illius ergo caput resplendens mitra tegebat.

In this, Martene sees proof of the early use of the mitre by Christian bishops. This, again, is a curious instance of the mistakes to which even men of great learning are liable, when they quote, without reference to context, single lines, or it may be half-sentences, out of ancient authors, in support of preconceived conclusions.

The quotation is from lib v. carm. 3 (Sirmondi Opera, ii. p. 1106), part of a poem called *Parænesis ad Episcopos*, written by Theodulph while yet a deacon (*Parva sed in magna cum sim Levitide turba Pars*, is his expression in referring to himself). In the poem, as it stands in the edition of Sirmondus, the order of the verses has evidently become consusced. But there is a long passage in which a comparison is made between the outward splendour of the *pontisex*, or Jewish high-priest, and the ornament of diverse virtues which should be conspicuous in the Christian "pontisex," or bishop.

Illius infignis radiabat lumine vestis,

Blanditiasque hominum visibus illa dabat:
At tibi virtutum dent ornamenta decorem,
Atque oculis cordis, qua potes, usque save.
Illi erat in sarro pollens reverentia cultu,
Et decus in habitu pontificalis opis.
Sancta est in sancta tibimet reverentia Matre,
Et vitæ studiis, actibus inque piis.
Aurea Pontificis cingebat lamina frontem,
Qua bis binus apex Nomen Herile dabat.
At tibi frons mentis cingatur sensibus almis,
Cbristum Evangelico vox et ab ore sonet.
Sint manisesti actus Fidei, probitatis, et æqui,
Qui sit virtutum quattuor ordo tibi.

³⁹⁵ Beiträge, u. s. w. p. 227. Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus. Dr. Hefele's criticifm is generally very accurate, and very unprejudiced, as far as I have had opportunities of judging. The paffage here commented

upon must not be regarded as a typical specimen of the author, but quite the reverse.

³⁹⁵a So Hugo Menardus pointed out long ago. See his notes to the Sacramentary of St. Gregory, p. 363.

Then after about hundred lines come in the two following verses, in a context to which they have no reference whatever:

Illius ergo caput resplendens mitra tegebat :
Contegat et (at?) mentem jus pietasque tuam.

So far from proving, as Martene thought, the use of an episcopal mitre in France at the close of the eighth century, the evidence of this passage (when examined with its context) points, as will now be seen, to a directly opposite conclusion. The lines I have quoted are nothing more than a reproduction, in Latin verses, such as were written in those times, of the language of Venerable Bede, quoted in p. 78, and commented on in the Introduction. And Theodulphus probably owed the idea, which he has here amplified, to the same source as did Bede, viz, to the prayer used in the consecration of bishops, quoted above, Introd. note 1, p. li.

It is inftructive, on many accounts, to the student of antiquity, to see in the examples above given, how plausible a case may be made out in favour of any preconceived conclusion, by dint of mutilated quotations set forth without reference to context. Instructive, too, to mark (I am obliged to add), how little weight should be given, in disputed questions such as these, to the reputation, even though deserved, of great and varied learning, on the part of those who write concerning them. Erudition, such as that of Edmond Martene; accurate scholarship, thorough impartiality, careful research, such as are conspicuous in Dr. Hesele; may all be employed in laboriously building up arguments, which fall to the ground, as in a moment, when the witnesses, to whom they appeal, are allowed to tell their own tale in full.

I say this of archæologists, to whom it applies in some measure. But I commend the remark to theologians, to whom, unfortunately, it applies much more.

APPENDIX C.

PASSAGES FROM ANCIENT AUTHORS ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF THE PÆNULA, CASULA, AND PLANETA.

PART I. THE PÆNULA.

1. Plautus (born circ. 254 B c.), Most. iv. 11, 74. [Theuropides says, angrily, to a slave with whom he is displeased]:

Jamne abis ? Libertas pænula est tergo tuo.

"It is only that big cloak of yours that faves your back." Literally, Thy pænula is liberty (i.e. the privileges of a free man) to thy back.

2. Lucilius (born B.C. 148), Sat. lib. xv. Fr. 6.

Pænula, si quæris, cantherius, servus, segestre, Utilior mibi, quam sapiens.

- 3. Cicero (born 106 B.C.), Pro Milone. He is showing from the mode in which Milo travelled that he could not have set out with the intention of attacking Clodius. He states (p. 524, 20) that while Clodius (really bent on violence) had lest the city expeditus, in equo, nulla rheda, nullis impedimentis, Milo, on the contrary (who had been falsely accused of treacherous and intended violence) "cum uxore veheretur in rheda pænulatus." Accordingly, as soon as the followers of Milo attacked him, the first thing he did was rejicere pænulam, which, by its form and its weight, confined his arms and prevented his defending himself. Gum bic (sc. Milo) de rheda, rejesta pænula, desiluisset, seque acri animo desenderet. And these circumstances, he argues (p. 518, 40), proved of themselves, "Uter esset insidiator, uter nihil cogitaret mali; cum alter veheretur in rheda pænulatus, una sederet uxor. Quid horum non impeditissimum, vestitus (sc. pænula) an vehiculum, an comes? Quid minus promptum ad pugnam, cum pænula irretitus" (entangled in his pænula as in a net), rheda impeditus, uxore pene constrictus esset:"
- 4. From another passage, pro P. Sestio, p. 444 (70), we learn that a rough pænula was commonly worn by mule-drivers, and the like.
- "Sensit rusticulus . . . suum sanguinem quæri . . . mulioniam pænulam arripuit, cum qua primum Romam ad comitia venerat, messoria se corbe contexit."
- 5. From its being commonly worn in travelling, pænulam attingere alicui feems to have been a proverbial phrase, for what we should call "keeping a man by the button."
- Cic. Ad Atticum, lib. vi. p. 288 (113). Paullo post C. Capito cum T. Carrinate. Horum ego vix attigi pænulam, et tamen remanserunt. And to the same effect just before: "De Varrone loquebamur. Lupus in fabula" ("Talk of the devil!"), "venit enim ad me, et quidem id temporis ut retinendus esset. Sed ego ita egi ut non scinderem pænulam." In other words, he was not over pressing in his expressions of civility, when he inquired whether he would not stay. He did not "tear his cloak" rather than let him go.
 - 6. Varro (born B.C. 82), apud Nonnium, 14, n. 3.
 - "Non quærenda est homini, qui habet virtutem, pænula in imbri."
 - 7. Horace (born 65 B.C.), 1 Ep. xi. 18.

Incolumi Rhodos, aut Mitylene pulchra facit, quod Pænula solstitio, campestre nivalibus auris.

- "If not compelled to live at Rhodes, or at Mitylene, by ill health, a man would no more take up his abode there for good, than he would wear a thick cloak, fuch as the pænula, at midfummer, or the dress of the exercise ground (scarcely to be called dress) in midwinter."
- 8. Seneca (born 61 B.C.) Epist. lxxxvii. He is describing a little riding tour which he had taken with his friend Maximus, and the manner in which they bivouacked.

Culcita (a mattrass) in terra jacet, ego in culcita. Ex duabus pænulis altera

stragulum, altera opertorium facta est.

- "One pænula served the purpose of a blanket under him; the other that of a coverlet to throw over him."
- 9. Martial (43 to 104 A.D.) To him, writing at Rome towards the close of the first century of our era, pænulatus is an epithet implying a position below that of a gentleman; while togatus (see above, p. 177, No. 9) means a "needy gentleman," one not altogether independent of others, and obliged therefore to pay ceremonious court to the rich and influential, to whom he is under obligation. Epig. lib. v. 27.

Quod Alpha dixi, Codre, penulatorum Te nuper, aliqua cum jocarer in charta; Si forte bilem movit hic tibi versus, Dicas licebit Beta me togatorum.

10. But people of all ranks would wear a pænula (as we should carry an umbrella) when on a journey. Hence the allusion in the following lines, where "fcortea" means a rough pænula made of sheep-skin or the like. Compare No. 7:

Ingrediare viam cælo licet usque sereno,
Ad subitas nunquam scortea desit aquas.

11. Another kind of pænula known as gausapina was of fine and white wool, and so handsome withal, that people who were vain of their dress are represented as wishing for cold weather that they might have an excuse for wearing them.

Et dolet et queritur sibi non contingere frigus, Propter sexcentas Baccara gausapinas.

Epig. lib. vi. 59.

Pænula gausapina.

Is mihi candor ineft, villorum gratia tanta eft, Ut me vel media sumere messe velis.

Epig. lib. xiv. 145.

12. Juvenal (writing circ. 100 A.D.) Sat. v.

Scilicet hoc fuerat, propter quod sæpe relicta Conjuge, per montem adversum gelidasque cucurri Esquilias, fremeret læva cum grandine vernus Jupiter, et multo stillaret pænula nimbo.

13. Emperor Adrian (Imp. 117 to 138 A.D.). Lampridius in Adriano. "Tribunus plebis factus est, in quo magistratu ad perpetuam tribunitiam po-

testatem (i.e., to imperial power) omen sibi sactum asserit, quod pænulas amiserit, quibus uti Tribuni plebis pluviæ tempore solebant, Imperatores autem nunquam. Unde hodieque Imperatores sine penulis ac togati videntur."

- 14. Emperor Commodus (Imp. 180 to 192 A.D.) Lampridius in Commodo. [He is speaking of a show of gladiators (munus) exhibited in the circus.] "Ipse prodigium non leve sibi fecit. Nam cum in gladiatoris occisi vulnere manum missistet, ad caput sibi detersit; et contra consuetudinem pænulatos justit Senatores, non togatos, ad munus convenire, quod in suneribus solebat, ipse in pullis vestimentis præsidens."
- 15. Emperor Alexander Severus (Imp. 222 to 235). Lampridius in Alexandro. "Pænulis intra urbem frigoris causa ut Senatores uterentur permisit." Ibid. "Matronas intra urbem pænulis ubi vetuit, in itinere permisit."
- 16. Julius Pollux, tom. ii. lib. vii. cap. 13, p. 729. [Floruit circa 185 A.D.] ή δὲ μανδύη ὅμοιόν τι τῷ καλουμένῳ Φαινόλη. Τίνων δὲ ἐστιν, ὡς μὴ περιεχόμεθα (fort. περιεχώμεθα, Salmas. vel περιεχώμεθα, i.e., ne oberremus Kuhn), Κρήσσαις ἢ Πέρσαις Αἰσχύλος ἐρεῖ. Λιβυρνικῆς μίμημα μανδύης χιτών. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Φαινόλης. 396 ἐστίν ἐν Ῥίνθωνος ἸΦιγενεία τῆ ἐν Ταύροις ἐχούση (leg. ἔχουσα) καινὰν Φαινόλαν. 397

From this passage we learn that the Greek panula in the second century was somewhat like in shape to the mardin (note 153). This agrees with what we have already quoted from Artemidorus (fupra, Appendix A, No. 11 6, p. 180). We learn, too, that the pairoln was as old, at least, as the time of Rhinthon (circ. 320 B.C.). But there are reasons for thinking that it was very much older than this. 398

17. Tertullian (died circ. 230 A.D.) De Oratione, cap. 12 (tom. iv. p. 14). [He had been speaking of the superstitious use of various ablutions practised by some in his time, and saying that "fatis mundæ sunt manus, quas cum toto corpore in Christo semel lavimus" (his thought being of John, xiii. 10). He follows out his subject as follows:]

"Sed quoniam unum aliquod attigimus vacuæ observationis, non pigebit

Byzantine Greek, obliterating, as was its wont, these finer distinctions, merged them both in the neuter φαινόλιον.

308 Tertullian states (Apolog. adv. Gentes) that the pænula was "invented" by the Lacedæmonians, to enable them, as spectators, to enjoy, even in cold weather, the spectacles of the stadium. Ne voluptas impudica frigeret, Lacedæmonii pænulam ludis excogitarunt. But an unsupported statement of this kind does not carry much weight.

³⁹⁶ Compare also the expression used in the Dialogus de causis corruptæ eloquentiæ (probably Quintilian's). Quantum bumilitatis putamus eloquentiæ attulisse pænulas istas, quibus adstrictia ac welut inclust, cum judicibus fabulamur?

³⁸⁷ We have here two forms, φαινόλης and φαινόλη (here quoted from Rhinthon, a dramatic poet, in its Doric form φαινόλα). In the older Greek, the feminine form φαινόλη was used in speaking of the finer and lighter garment worn by women, the masculine φαινόλης of that worn by men. The later

cetera quoque denotare, quibus merito vanitas exprobranda est, siquidem sine ullius aut Dominici aut Apostolici præcepti auctoritate siunt. Hujusmodi enim non religioni sed superstitioni deputantur, affectata et coacta, et curiosi potius quam rationalis officii, certe vel eo coercenda, quod gentilibus adæquent. Ut est quorundam positis pænulis orationem facere: sic enim adeunt ad idola nationes. Quod utique si fieri oporteret, Apostoli, qui de habitu orandi docent, comprehendissent; niss si qui putant 399 Paulum pænulam suam in oratione penes Carpum reliquisse. Deus scilicet non audiat pænulatos; qui tres sanctos in fornace Babylonii regis orantes cum Sarabaris et Tiaris suis exaudivit."

[This is a very inftructive passage concerning the Pænula. From it we learn that heathen worshippers, in Tertullian's time, thought it indecorous to wear a Pænula when engaged in public prayer, that on such occasions therefore they put them off. We learn, too, that many Christians had adopted the same custom, and that such scruples were regarded by Tertullian as savouring of superstition rather than of religion. He then puts it as an absurd (note 399) supposition, which some might possibly adopt, that St. Paul lost his Pænula in consequence of his taking it off when about to engage in prayer at the house of Carpus. As to St. Paul's Pænula being itself a "facriscial vestment," it is evident that such an idea had never entered Tertullian's head. No one having any real acquaintance with antiquity could suppose so now. The "superstition," in Tertullian's time, was that of supposing that it was such a garment as none could fitly appear in church at all.

- 18. From another passage of Tertullian (De Cor. Mil. p. 346) we find that, in his time, the Pænula was worn by soldiers, not of course when actively engaged (compare No. 3), but much as our own soldiers wear "great-coats" for protection against the weather. He is speaking of a Christian soldier, who had refused to wear the corona of heathen sacrificial rites. Reus ad præsectos. Ibidem gravissimas pænulas posuit, relevari auspicatus. A similar use of the Pænula by soldiers appears in a passage of Suetonius (in Galba). Speaking of Ser. Sulpicius Galba (afterwards emperor) in the year 45 A.D., he says, "A Caio Cæsare Gætulico substitutus, postridie quam ad legiones venit, sollenni forte spectaculo plaudentes inhibuit, data tessera ut manus pænulis continerent."
- 19. St. Jerome, ad *Damasum*, Epist. cxxv. 9, 2. "Volumen 400 Hebræum replico, quod Paulus φαιλόνην juxta quosdam vocat." [Compare No. 21, below.]
- 20. Ibid. in 2, Epist. ad Timoth. iv. 13.407 "Pænulam quam reliqui, &c. Non dixit pænulam meam: potuit enim conversus aliquis, ad pedes ejus, inter cætera, imposuisse vendendum." [Ed. Benedict. vol. v. p. 1100.] He supposes

See, too, the words of Theodoret (on 2 Tim. iv. 13) quoted under No. 21, note 403.

with which Tertullian introduces a hypothesis, the absurdity of which he deems to be self-evident. Compare the passage quoted above, Appendix A, No. 42, nisi si non potuit Deus etc.

⁴⁰⁰ He uses the words volumen and replico in their technical fense. See note 79, p. 50.

⁴⁰¹ This commentary on 2 Ep. Tim. is regarded as spurious by the Benedictine editors. But the authorship is not, to the present question, a matter of primary importance.

that this Pænula may have been brought by some convert, as a superfluity of which to make an offering to God, "laying it at the apossles' feet" (Acts, iv. 35), that it might afterwards be sold, and the proceeds made use of as St. Paul should think sit.

21. St. John Chrysostom (born circ. 347, died 407 A.D.) Τοπ. xi. p. 780 A, in 2 Tim. iv. 13. Τὸν φελόνην ὸν ἀπέλιπον ἐν Τρώαδι παρὰ Κάρπω, ἐρχόμενος Φέρε, καὶ τὰ βιβλία, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας. Φελόνην ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἰμάτιον λέγει. Τινὲς δὲ φασὶ τὸ γλωσσόκομον, 402 ἔνθα τὰ βιβλία ἔκειτο. Τί δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν βιβλίων ἐδει μέλλοντι ἀποδημεῖν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν; Καὶ μάλιστα ἔδει, ώστε αὐτὰ τοῖς πίστοις παραθέσθαι, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας ἔχειν αὐτά . . . Τὸν δὲ Φελόνην ζητεῖ ὧστε μὴ δεηθῆναι παρ' ἔτέρου λαβεῖν.

"By the word $\phi_{\rm E}\lambda_{\rm ovns}$, here used, is meant the outer garment so called. But some think that it was the case (capsa) in which lay the Books. But for what could he need these Books, when he was about to depart hence unto God? Nay, he had in truth the greatest need of them, that so he might commit them into the hands of the faithful, to be to them in place of his own teaching.

. . And his inquiring for this cloak was for this cause, that he might not need to receive one (as a gift) from some other. For thou seest that this is a matter about which he is specially careful, saying, as he does, in another place, when discoursing to them of Ephesus, Ye know that these my hands did minister to my necessities, and to them that were with me. And again, It is blessed to give rather than to receive."

It is evident from the above that St. Chrysostom regarded the φελόνης of St. Paul as an ordinary iμάτιον; and that the membranæ, or parchments, were in his judgment MSS. containing St. Paul's own teaching.

22 The Theodosian Code, published in 438 A.D., and that simultaneously for the Eastern and the Western empire, furnishes us with an important indication of the changed use of the Pænula established by that time. In lib. i. De Habitu, we read as follows:

"Nullus fenatorum habitum fibi vindicet militarem, fed chlamydis terrore depofito, quieta colobiorum ac pænularum induat vestimenta. . . . officiales quoque per quos statuta complentur ac necessaria peraguntur, uti quidem pænulis jubemus, verum interiorem vestem admodum cingulis observare."

The chlamys being (note 142) a military garb, is unfuited for fenators when at Rome. In earlier times their proper garb would have been the tunica laticlavia and the toga. The corresponding vestments are now (fifth century) the colobium and pænula.

⁴⁰² That is a case for books, such, perhaps, as is represented in Pl. XII., XIV.

⁴⁰³ For this interpretation of τὰς μεμβράνας, compare Theodoret on this passage. He follows St. Chrysostom closely as was his wont. Μεμβράνας τὰ είλητὰ κέκληκε (είλητὰν i.e.

volumen) οὖτω γὰς Ρωμαῖοι καλοῦσι τὰ δέςματα. Ἐν εἰλητοῖς δὲ εἶχον πάλαι τὰς θείας γςαφάς. Οὖτω δὲ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παςόντος ἔχονσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. [This may be ſaid with truth of the Jews even to the prefent day.]

- 23. St. Isidore of Seville, circ. 600 A.D. See the quotation at p. 72 and note 130 in loc. This passage, however, does not prove any contemporary usage of the word Pænula, either in Spain or in other parts of the West. For the gloss in question is simply transferred (as was St. Isidore's wont) totidem verbis from a vetus interpres on Persius.
- 24. St. Germanus, Patriarch of Conftantinople, circ. 715 A.D. See his words quoted at p. 84, l. 4. From another mention of the Phænolion at p. 86, l. 1, we learn that in the eighth century, at Conftantinople, if not elsewhere, this vestment was either of a purple or a scarlet colour, or at least of a colour which served to recall the "scarlet (or purple) robe" put in mockery upon our Lord.
- 25. Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople writes (in the year 811) to Leo III., inter alia:
- "In signum mediatricis inter nos in Domino dilectionis, misimus vestræ fraternæ beatitudini encolpion 315 aureum, cujus una facies cristallum inclusum, altera picta nigello 404 est, et intus habet alterum encolpion, in quo sunt partes honorandi ligni in sigura Crucis positi: tunicam candidam, et pænulam castaneam inconsutilem (leg. inconsutiles); stolam et semicinctium, 405 auro variata."

The word pænula, here used, represents the φαινόλης (or more probably φαινόλιον) of the original text. The description of this φαινόλιον as ἀρραφον (inconsutilis) may be regarded as probably pointing to those words of St. John, η, δὲ ὁ χιτὰν ἄραφος (al. ἀρραφος) ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑφαντὸς δι' ὅλου.

PART II. THE CASULA.

26. The earliest notices of the Casula are two following from St. Augustine (born 354, died 430).

THE CASULA AS AN OUT-DOOR DRESS FOR WORKING MEN, circ. 350 A.D.

a. De Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. cap. 8, § 9. "Erat quidam senex Florentius, Hipponensis noster, homo religiosus et pauper; sartoris se arte pascebat. Casulam perdiderat, et unde sibi emeret non habebat. Ad 406 Viginti Martyres, quorum

⁴⁰⁴ δι' ἐγκαύσεως. Enamelling. Baronius edits the letter from the Latin of Anastasius Bibliothecarius. The original Greek text will be found in Harduin's Concilia, vol. iv. P. 1000.

⁴⁰⁵ ἐγχείριον. A handkerchief. Here, probably, fomething refembling the fudarium or mappula of the Latin Church. Stola is here used as the Latin rendering of ἐπισραχήλιον, which corresponded (see note 144 p. 84) to the Orarium or Stola of the West.

⁴⁰⁶ Ad wiginti, &c. "At the chapel of the twenty Martyrs." The word memoria," which follows is here used in its technical sense of a memorial chapel," or church. St. Augustine's Sermon CCCXXV. is on the birthday (day of martyrdom) of these twenty martyrs," whose number coepit ab Episcopo Fidentio, clausit ad sidelem seminam sanctam Victoriam. Initium a side. Finis ad victoriam."

memoria apud nos est celeberrima, clara voce, ut vestiretur, oravit. Audierunt eum adolescentes, qui forte aderant, irrisores; eumque discedentem exagitantes prosequebantur, quasi a Martyribus quinquagenos folles, unde vestimentum emeret, petivisset. At ille tacitus ambulans ejectum grandem piscem palpitantem vidit in littore, eumque illis faventibus atque adjuvantibus apprehendit, et cuidam coquo, Catoso nomine, bene Christiano, ad coquinam conditariam, indicans quid gestum sit, trecenis follibus vendidit; lanam comparare inde disponens, ut uxor ejus, quomodo posset, ei, quo indueretur, efficeret. Sed coquus, concidens piscem, annulum aureum in ventriculo ejus invenit; moxque miseratione slexus, et relligione perterritus, homini eum reddidit, dicens, Ecce quomodo Viginti Martyres te vestierunt."

THE CASULA AN ORDINARY OUT-DOOR GARB, circ. 400 A.D.

27. \$\mathcal{B}\$. Ibid. Sermo CVII. cap. 5 (tom. v. p. 530). "Quid est iniquius homine qui multa bona habere vult, et bonus ipse esse esse qui habeas, qui non vis esse quod vis habere. Numquid enim vis habere villam malam? Non utique, sed bonam. Numquid uxorem malam? Non, sed bonam. Numquid denique casulam malam? Numquid vel caligam malam? Quare animam solum malam?"

THE CASULA WORN BY MONKS (AND BY BISHOPS IN MONASTIC LIFE), circ. 500 A.D.

28. Of Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspa (circ. 507), his disciple and biographer Ferrandus writes as follows, l. 18 (apud Thomassinum, Vet. et Nov. Ecc. Disc. lib. ii. cap. 47):

"Nunquam pretiosa vestimenta quæsivit: una tantum vilissima tunica, sive per æstatem, sive per hiemem, est patienter indutus. Orario quidem sicut omnes episcopi nullatenus utebatur. Pellicio cingulo (note 74) tanquam monachus utebatur. . . . Casulam pretiosam vel superbi coloris nec ipse babuit, nec suos monachos babere permisit. 407 In qua tunica dormiebat in ipsa sacrificabat; et in tempore sacrificii mutanda esse corda potius quam vestimenta dicebat."

A Casula worn (as a Cloak) by an Archbishop.

29. Extracts from the last will and testament of S. Cæsarius, Archbishop

usque hodie in codem monasterio exemplo ejus observatur, ne quis varii aut pretiosi coloris habeat indumentum, sed ea maxime vestium specie sint contenti, quam naturalis ovium lana (note d, p. xviii) ministrat."

⁴⁰⁷ Compare what is faid, by Ven. Bede, of S. Cuthbert and the monks of Lindisfarne (Vita S. Cuthberti, cap. 16, Bedæ Opera, tom. iv. p. 262). "Vestimentis utebatur communibus, ita temperanter agens, ut horum nequemunditiis neque fordibus esset notabilis. Unde

- of Arles, † 540. [A copy of this will was obtained for Baronius, from the archives preferved at Arles. See the *Annal*. tom. vi. p. 602, 5qq.] "Sancto et domino meo archiepiscopo, qui mihi indigno digne suscesseri, licet omnia in sua potestate sint, tamen, si lubet, et dignum ducit, indumenta paschalia 408 quæ mihi data sunt, omnia illi serviant, simul cum casula villosa 409 et tunica vel galnape quod melius dimisero. Reliqua vero vestimenta mea, excepto birro amiculari, mei tam clerici quam laici, cum gratia vel ordinatione domini archiepiscopi, sibi ipso jubente, immo donante, dividant."
- 30. [In the life of the same Archbishop Cæsarius, we find mention of his wearing a Casula both in his ordinary walks about the city, and in processions.] "Ambulans per plateam civitatis, vidit contra in foro hominem qui a dæmonio agebatur. In quem cum attendisset, babens manum sub casula, ut a suis non videretur, crucem contra eum fecit." And again:
- 31. Lib. ii. cap. 19. [A poor man begs of him, and the bishop having no money to give him] "casulam qua in processionibus utebatur, et albam paschalem 408 profert, datque egeno, jubetque ut vendat uni ex clero."

THE CASULA A DRESS FOR PEASANTS, circ. 530 A.D.

32. Procopius (Fl. circa 530 A.D.) De Bello Vandalico, lib. ii. cap. 26. He is describing the abject submission of Areobindus when defeated by Gontharis. He speaks of him as εμάτιον ἀμπεχόμενος οὔτε στρατηγῷ οὔτε ἄλλῷ στρατευομένῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτηδείως ἔχον, ἀλλὰ δούλῳ καὶ ἰδιώτη παντάπασι πρέπον, Κασοῦλαν αὐτὸ τῆ Λατίνων Φωνῆ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. 410

CASULA AS AN OUT-DOOR DRESS AT ROME, circ. 600 A.D.

33. S. Gregorii Vita a Joanne Diacono conscripta, lib. iv. cap. 63. The biographer quotes a story of St. Gregory told by Abbot John, a Persian. "Olim ivi Romam ad adorandum loculos sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli: et una dierum cum starem in medio civitatis, video Papam Gregorium per (prope?) me transiturum: et cogitavi me mittere ante eum. Cum ergo appropinquasset mihi Papa, videns quia pergerem ut mitterem me ante eum, 411 sicut coram Deo dico, fratres, primus misst se ante me super terram: et non

⁴⁰⁸ By the alba paschalis, here mentioned, we are probably to understand an alb of some more than usually rich material to be used at the Easter sestival. Dr. Hefele, however, interprets the parallel expression indumenta paschalia, (supra, No. 29) as "Sonntagsgewänder." I can hardly suppose this to be correct.

⁴⁰⁹ Dr. Hefele observes (D. L. G. p. 196) that this cafula willosa, or long-napped cloak, is here distinguished from the indumenta paschalia

⁽note 409), and is a garment for out-door wear, not an ecclefiaftical "veftment," properly fo called.

⁴¹⁰ Procopius evidently confiders the cafula to be a garb fit only for peasants. It is asfumed on this occasion as a westis fordida, in token of abject humility and subjection.

⁴¹¹ Me mittere ad eum, i.e., "bowing himfelf to the ground before him," as is the wont of Eastern people.

ante surrexit, quam ego prior surgerem; et amplexatus me cum multa humilitate, tribuit mibi per manum numismata tria: et jussit mibi dari casulam et necessitates meas omnes."

A CASULA SENT AS A PRESENT TO A KING.

- 34. Bonifacii III. PP. Epist. iii. (apud O. Ferrarium, D. R. V. p. 685,)
 A.D. 606. "Litteras et munuscula parva transmitto vobis, id est, Casulam non holosericam, sed caprina lanugine mistam, et villosam, ad tergendos pedes 414 dilectionis vestræ."
- 35. St. Isidore, Hisp. De Originibus, lib. xix. (quoted above, at p. 74), circ. A.D. 620. He does not mention the Casula as in any way a sacred vestment, but merely describes it as a vestis cucullata.

A Casula the Out-Door Dress of the Clergy.

- 36. Concilium Germanicum I. Celebratum xi. Kal. Mai, A.D. 742. Sub Carlemanno Majore Domus Regiæ, auctoritate S. Bonifacii, Can. vii. "Decrevimus 415 quoque ut presbyteri vel diaconi non sagis laicorum more, sed casulis utantur, ritu servorum 416 Dei." [Labbe, Concil. tom. vi. p. 1533, sqq.]
- 37. To the passages above given may be added a reference to a singular fragment, illustrating the old Gallican use, and which may possibly date from the eighth 417 century, though it would seem to belong rather to the ninth. See Appendix E. The second paragraph, there quoted, contains not only a

414 This letter is addressed to king Pepin. It is difficult to understand how a casula should be used ad tergendos pedes. Either therefore villosa must here be taken as a virtual substantive (compare linea, alba, gausapina, scortea), or we must suppose some word such as mappam to have been dropped.

415 It is worth noting as a characteristic feature of these times, that the decrees of this Council issue in the name of "Ego Carlomannus Dux et Princeps Francorum," acting "cum confilio servorum Dei et optimatum meorum;" and in pursuance of such counsel, decreeing (statuimus) that synods should be held, yearly, "ita ut nobis præsentibus canonum decreta et ecclesiæ jura restaurentur, et religio Christiana emendetur."

416 In speaking of the Casula as besitting those who are "fervi" of God, St. Bonisace may not improbably have had in view the lowly origin of this garb, as worn by peasants and by monks. The sagum, which presbyters and deacons in Germany are forbidden to

wear, is the fhort military cloak which in the eighth century had come into general fecular use. Some (as Dr. Hefele) understand the words ritu fervorum Dei to mean "as do monks." But in the Presace, quoted in note 415, the words evidently are used of "the clergy."

417 There is mention made of the cafula as the vestment of a presbyter in the Sacramentary of St. Gregory, and from this fome writers have carelessly inferred that the casula must in his time, i.e., circ. 600 A.D., have been recognised as a vestment of Christian ministry. But, as Professor Hefele remarks, the Sacramentary proves nothing of the kind, feeing that it dates, in its present form, from a period confiderably later than St. Gregory, probably not earlier than the ninth century. The words occur in the Ordinatio Presbyteri, p. 238, when, just before the bleffing is conferred, the direction following is given: Hic vestis et casulam, i.e. At this point thou art to invest him with the chasuble.

reference to the Chasuble as a vestment of holy ministration, but a description of its form. Casula sine manicis, unita prinsecus, non scissa non aperta. See p. 204, below.

PLANETA TOO COSTLY TO BE WORN BY MONKS.

38. Cassianus (circ. 418 A.D.) De Habitu Monachorum, lib. i. cap. 7. "Post hæc angusto palliolo tam amictus humilitatem, quam vilitatem pretii compendiumque sectantes, colla pariter atque humeros tegunt quæ masortes tam nostro quam ipsorum nuncupantur eloquio, et ita Planeticarum simul atque birrorum (note ω , p. lvi) pretia simul et ambitionem declinant."

THE PLANETA WORN BY LAYMEN OF RANK.

39. Vita S. Fulgentii († 533) Acta Sanctorum, tom. i. Januar. p. 43. [The writer, Nolanus, a contemporary of Fulgentius, is describing the return of Fulgentius to Carthage after his exile.] "Tantum fides Nobilium crevit, ut Planetis suis super B. Fulgentium gratanter expansis, repellerent imbres, et novum tabernaculi genus artificiosa caritate componerent."

PLANETA WORN BY THE ATTENDANTS OF A BISHOP OF ROME.

40. Joan. Diac. Vita D. Gregorii, lib. ii. cap. 43. [The writer is fpeaking of a plot laid by certain forcerers (magi) to throw St. Gregory off his horse as he rode through the city.] "Cumque magi ex planetatorum 4'8 mappulatorumque processionibus magnum pontificem cognovissent," &c., &c.

PLANETA WORN BY A ROMAN SENATOR, AND A ROMAN BISHOP.

41. Joan. Diac. Vita D. Gregorii, lib. iv. cap. 83. [Describing the dress of Gordianus, a senator, father of St. Gregory, he says,] "Gordiani habitus castanei coloris planeta est, sub planeta dalmatica, in pedibus caligas habens."

And in cap. 84, speaking of St. Gregory himself, "Planeta super dalmaticam castanea."

THE PLANETA NOT TO BE WORN BY MONKS.

42. St. Isidore (circ. 620), in Regula, cap. 13 (apud Ducange). "Linteo non licet Monachum indui. Orarium, birros, planetas, non est sas uti, neque illa indumenta vel calceamenta quæ generaliter cætera monasteria abutuntur" ("do not use").

⁴¹⁸ The people dreffed in planetæ are probably presbyters, and high officials; the map-pulati, deacons, and sub-deacons.

THE PLANETA WORN AS A DISTINCTIVE VESTMENT BY BISHOPS AND PRESBYTERS.

43. Concil. Tolet. iv. ann. 634. See p. 75, sqq.

A PLANETA ONE OF THE VESTMENTS OF A POPE.

44. Ordo Romanus i. (eleventh century), apud Mabillon, Museum Italicum, and Martene De Antiq. Eccl. Rit. tom. ii. lib. iii. cap. 11.

In § 6 the vestments of the Pontifex Romanus are enumerated:

"Subdiaconi regionarii secundum ordinem suum accipiunt ad induendum Pontificem ipsa vestimenta: alius lineam, alius cingulum, alius anagolaium, id est amictum, alius lineam dalmaticam, et alius majorem dalmaticam, et alius planetam; et sic per ordinem induunt Pontificem. . . Novissime autem, quem voluerit Dominus pontifex de diaconibus, vel subdiaconibus, cui ipse jusserit, sumit de manu subdiaconi sequentis pallium, et induit super Pontificem, et consigit eum cum acubus in planeta retro et ante, et in humero sinistro et salutat Domnum et dicit," &c.

PLANETA WORN BY DEACONS, SUB-DEACONS, ACOLYTES.419

45. Ibid. §§ 7 to 11. From a variety of notices in this portion of the Ordo Romanus I., it is clear that at Rome, in the eleventh century (and probably at a somewhat earlier time also), deacons, sub-deacons, and other of the inferior orders, wore a planeta when in attendance on a pope at a solemn function.

419 Compare Ordo Rom. viii., where an acolyte, at his ordination, is described as invested with orarium and planeta. Dr. Hefele, referring to this, conjectures (p. 201), that the planeta of the minor orders was a scantier and shorter vestment than that worn by bishops and presbyters, resembling the little phænolion fo called, worn by ἀναγνῶσται in the Greek Church. But he has apparently overlooked the paffage in the Ordo I., which is inconfiftent with his explanation. For the fubdeacon is there described (§ 7) as carrying the mappula of the pontiff on his own left arm, super planetam revolutam. A vestment such as Hefele describes could not be rolled (folded) back upon the arm, and then have a mappula resting upon it. But these are minor matters, of antiquarian interest only.

420 From the close of the eighth century

the terms Planeta and Cafula ceased to be diftinguished the one from the other. See Rabanus Maurus (quoted p. 91, "Casula . . . hanc Græci planetam vocant"); Honorius of Autun (quoted p. 137, "Cafula hæc vestis et Planeta . . . vocatur"); Innocent III. (quoted p. 155, "Cafulam vel Planetam.") To these passages may be added the following from the life of Abbot Ansegifus (written in the ninth century), edited by Mabillon in the Acta Sanctorum Ord. Benediet. Sæc. iv. p. 945. Mention is made of various gifts to the church made by St. Anfegifus, and amongst them of Planetas cafulas quattuor . . . mappulas duas folas duas folas duas. And so Luitprand (Hist. vi. cap. xi). Cui (sc. Benedicto Pseudo-Papæ) "Casulam quam Planetam vocant, cum stola pariter abftulit."

APPENDIX D.

VESTMENTS WORN IN THE GALLICAN CHURCH.

From a MS. of Uncertain Date Edited by Martene. 421

Epist. Secunda De Communi Officio. . . . "Pallium in pascha cum tintinnabulis Eucharistia velatur, instar veteris testamenti ubi tonica [h. e. tunica] sacerdotis plena tintinnabulis, signans verba prædicationis, ostenditur. Præcinctio autem vestimenti candidi, quod sacerdos baptizaturus præcingitur, in signa sancti Joannis agitur, qui præcinctus baptizavit Dominum. Albis autem vestibus in pascha induetur, secundum quod angelus ad monumentum albis vestibus cerneretur. Albæ etinim vestis exaltationem signisicant.

"Cafula, quam amphibalum vocant, quod facerdos induetur, tota unita, per Moysem legiserum instituta primitus demonstratur. Justit ergo Dominus sieri dissimilatum vestimentum, ut talem sacerdos induerit quali indui populus non auderetur. Ideo sine manicas, quia sacerdos potius benedicit quam ministrat. 422 Ideo unita prinsecus, non scissa, non aperta: quia multæ sunt Scripturæ sacræ secreta mysteria, quæ quasi sub sigillo sacerdoti doctus debet abscondere, et unitatem custodire, non in hæresi vel schismata declinare. 423

"Pallium 424 vero quod circa collo usque ad pectus venit, rationale vocabatur in vetere testamento, scilicet signum sanctitatis super memoriam pectoris, dicente propheta ex persona Domini, 'Spiritus Domini super me.' Et post pauca, 'ut ponerem gloriam lugentibus Sion, et darem eis coronam pro cinere, oleum gaudii pro luctu' (Is. lxi. 3). Pallium laudis pro spiritu mœroris. Quod autem collo cingit, antiquæ consuetudinis est, quia reges et sacerdotes circumdati

written. [The spelling of the original is preferved throughout.]

423 This furnishes, as will be seen, a new mystical meaning for the Casula.

⁴²¹ These extracts are from a MS. edited by Martene (Thefaurus Anecdotorum, tom. v). He describes it as follows; Sancti Germani Parisiensis episcopi expositio brevis antiquæ Liturgiæ Gallicanæ; and gives it as his opinion that this work was written (hoc opus scriptum) about the middle of the fixth century. This, he fays, because St. Germanus was Bishop of Paris from 556 to 576 A.D. The only link of connection, however, between this anonymous MS. (found in the Monastery of St. Martin at Autun) and St. Germanus, is the fact that the writer begins by referring to (and quoting) what Germanus episcopus Parisius scripsit de Missa. Internal evidence points to the ninth or tenth century as the earliest at which the MS. could have been actually

⁴²² He refers to the fact that the form of the Cafula was inconfistent with the use of the arms for anything like active ministration.

⁴²⁴ The word Pallium is probably not used here in the technical sense of an archbishop's Pallium. In early representations (ninth century) of Gallican Bishops, the older form of the Pallium is seen, resembling that of Pl. XXX., XXXI., but meeting it at a point at the breast. And so the words here commented on may point to the Pallium Gallicanum (so called), of which more in Appendix E.

erant pallia veste sulgente, quod gratia præsignabat. Quod autem simbriis vestimenta sacerdotalia adnectuntur, Dominus Moysi præcepit in Numeris, ut per quattuor angulos palliorum silii Israel simbrias sacerent, ut populus Domini non solum opere, sed etiam et vestitu, mandatorum Dei signum portaret.

"Manualia vero, id est manicas,425 induere sacerdotibus mos est, instar armillarum quas regum vel sacerdotum brachia constringebantur. Ideo autem ex quolibet pretioso vellere, non metalli duritia, extant, vel ut omnes communiter sacerdotes etiam minoris dignitatis in sæculo facilius inveniant.

"Vestimentum parvolum 425 a quod non sit in alio uso nisi ad frequentandum sacrificium, vel significat quod non graventur manus nostræ honoribus seculi, sed circumdentur subtilia exercitia mandatorum Dei. Prohibet autem manica, tonica ne appareat vile vestimentum, aut quocunque indignum tactum sordium super divina sacrificia, quo manus immolantis discurrunt.

"Albas vero quas levitæ utuntur ideo statuerunt Patres, quia in vestimento tincto non sic apparet cito macula quomodo in albo: et minister altaris ideo utitur, ut observet et caveat omnem maculam et nullatenus vestimenta ministrantium vel leviore tactu appareant sordida; sed candida sint, exterius veste, interius mente. Sirico aut vellere sictur, quia Dominus sacerdotibus ideo exinde habere indumenta mandavit, ut eorum vestis spem resurreccionis ostenderet. Sirico enim de ligno per verme sictur. Vermis post mortem procedit in alate, et post occasum et volatum sigurans Christum, qui ex ligno crucis quiescens in sepulchro, tanquam vermis clausus in sacculo angusto, surrexit de tumulo, et ad cælos sumsit volatum. Alterius vero velleris albi innocentiam tantum vitæ demonstrant. Alba autem non constringitur cingulo, sed suspensa tegit levitæ corpusculum, quia omnis conversatio Levitica in desiderio cælestis patriæ a terrenis operibus debet esse suspensa nec cingulo peccatorum constricta.

"Stola autem, quam fuper alba diaconus induit, fignificat fubtilitatis intelligentiam in divina mysteria, licet veteri (h. e. veteres) stola induentes gaudium sollennitatis se habere monstrabant. Et pro hac causa in quadragesima pro humiliatione non utitur, sicut nec alleluia in nostra ecclesia, sanctus, vel prophetia, hymnum trium puerorum, vel canticum rubri maris, illis diebus decantantur. Stola alba namque angelus præcinctus apparuit, quando sedens in monumento Domini sollennitatem resurrectionis illius nunciavit. Ideo in quadragesima prohibendum hæc cantica, quia cælestia et angelica sunt."

⁴²⁵ The manicæ, here mentioned, "inftar armillarum," feems to point to a vestment resembling the Greek ἐπιμανίκια (note 350, p. 169).

⁴²⁵ a This "fmall veftment" is evidently the maniple.

APPENDIX E.

PASSAGES FROM EARLY WRITERS ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF THE ORARIUM ("STOLE,") AND THE PAPAL PALLIUM.

THE ORARIUM OF SECULAR USE.

1. The following passages will indicate the form, and usage, of the Orarium in ordinary life. a. St. Jerome, ad Nepotianum, 529. Plenum dedecoris eft, referto marsupio, quod sudarium orariumque non habeas gloriari. B. St. Ambrose, De Resurrect. Et facies ejus (sc. Lazari) orario colligata erat. y. St. Augustine, De Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. cap. 8, § 7. [An Orarium used as a bandage to tie up a wounded eye.] Tunc, sicut potuit, oculum lapsum atque pendentem loco suo revocatum ligavit orario. 3. Prudentius (fifth century), Peristeph. 1, 86. [Speaking of two martyrs, Hemeterius and Celedonius, he favs that the ring worn by one, and the handkerchief of the other, were miraculously carried up to heaven.] Illa laus occulta non est, nec senescit tempore, missa quod sursum per auras evolarunt munera. . . . Illius fidem figurans nube fertur annulus; Hic sui dat pignus oris, ut ferunt, orarium. E. With this last compare St. Gregory of Tours, De Glor. Martyr. cap. 93, where he relates the same tale. In another passage of the same author we read of the fon of Sigismund being strangled by means of an Orarium. Hist. Franc. lib. iii. cap. 5. Sopitum vino dormire post meridiem filium jubet: cui dormienti orarium sub collo positum ac sub mento ligatum, trahentibus ad se invicem duobus pueris, suggillatus est. [This was in the year 522 A.D.] n. St. Gregory the Great (close of the fixth century), writing to a friend at Constantinople, a vir religiosus, but not a priest, sends him as a present duas camissas et quattuor oraria, much as the Emperor Gallienus had done when writing to Claudius, three centuries earlier. [Epist. lib. vii. xxx. Indict. xv.]

ORARIA AS IMPERIAL PRESENTS.

I b. Trebellius Pollio in Claudio (prope finem). He is quoting a letter of the Emperor Gallienus in which he enumerates the presents (chiefly plate and rich garments) which he had sent to Claudius (afterwards emperor from 268 to 270). "Albam subsericam, paragaudem triuncem unam. Zanchas 427 de nostris Parthicis paria tria, . . . Penulam Illyricianam unam Oraria Sarabdena quatuor."

Flavius Vopiscus in Aureliano (Imp. 270-275), prope fin. (p. 428). "Sciendun . . . illum . . . donasse populo Romano tunicas albas manicatas ex diversis provinciis, et lineas Afras atque Ægyptias puras; ipsumque primum donasse oraria populo Romano quibus uteretur populus ad favorem." [On this use of oraria, "ad favorem," see F. B. Ferrarius, De Veterum Accelamationibus, lib. ii. cap. 7, p. 63.]

THE ORARIUM, AS A SACRED VESTMENT, NOT TO BE WORN BY ANY BELOW THE RANK OF A DEACON.

2. Council of Laodicea, A.D. 327. [Harduin Concil. tom. i. p. 786.] Can. xxiii. οὐ δεῖ ὑπηςέτην ἀςάςιον φοςεῖν, οὐδὲ τὰς θύςας ἐγκαταλιμπάνειν. Ibid. Can xxiv. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἀναγνώττας ἢ ψάλτας ἀςάςιον φοςεῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἀναγιγνώτκειν ἢ ψάλλειν.

Orarium worn by Deacons, circ. 467.

3. St. Chrysostom († 407). In Parab. de Filio Prodigo. Inter opera spuria. [Though probably not St. Chrysostom's, it is of a date not much later than his]. Tom. viii. p. 655. Μεμνημένοι τῶν Φειατῶν μυστηείων τῶν λειτουεγῶν τῆς θείας λειτουεγίας, τῶν μιμουμένων τὰς τῶν ἀγγέλων πτέξυγας ταῖς λεπταῖς ὀδόναις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀριστέξων ὄμων κειμέναις, καὶ ἐν τῆ ἐκκλησία πεξιτξεχόντων.

THE SAME, circ. 412.

4. St. Isidore of Pelusium, circ. 412 A.D. He speaks (see above, p. 49) of h δθόνη μεθ' ης λειτουργοῦσιν οἱ διάκονοι ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις; and he adds that this δθόνη, or piece of fine linen, recalls the humility of our Lord in that of His washing, and wiping dry, the feet of His disciples.

ORARIUM FORBIDDEN TO MONKS, A.D. 511.

5. Concil. Aurelian. (anno 511) Canon xx. "Monacho uti orario 426 in Monasterio, vel tzangas 427 habere non liceat." [Labbe, Concil. tom. iv. p. 1407.]

intra urbem venerabilem nemini liceat usurpare.]
Nearly four centuries later Charlemagne interdicted their use by the Clergy. Capitul. lib. vii. cap. 314. Ut clerici pampis [al. pompis] aut trangis vel armis non utuntur. The passage in the letter of Emperor Gallienus quoted in p. 206 (overlooked by Ducange), determines their origin. Zanchas de nostris Parthicis paria tria.

⁴²⁶ All commentators on this passage confider the word Orarium to be here used with its older meaning of a "pocket hankerehief."

¹²⁷ Τπαπρας. A kind of boot. σζάγγα or σζαγγία in Byzantine Greek. As being of barbarous origin they were not allowed to be worn at Constantinople, intra urbem, even by laymen. [Codex Theod. De Habitu &c. 14, 10. Usum Tπαπρατωπ atque braccarum

DEACONS ARE NOT TO HIDE THEIR ORARIA.

- 6. Concil. Bracar. II. A.D. 563, capitulum ix. "Item placuit ut quia in aliquantis hujus provinciæ ecclesiis diaconi absconsis infra tunicam utuntur orariis, ita ut nihil differre a subdiacono videantur, de cetero superposito scapulæ utantur orario." For Concil. Bracar. III. A.D. 572, see Innocent III., sup. p. 154.
- 7. Concil. Tolet. IV. A.D. 633. [See above, p. 76.] Bishops and prefbyters alike wear *Oraria*, but not more than one. Deacons also are to wear but one, and that upon the left shoulder only. They are to wear it plain (purum), not decked out with colours nor with gold.
- 8. Concil. Bracar. IV. A.D. 685 [Labbe, tom. vii. p. 581] Can iv. "Cum antiqua ecclefiaftica noverimus inftitutione præfixum ut omnis facerdos, cum ordinatur, orario utroque humero ambiatur, fcilicet ut qui imperturbatus præcipitur confistere inter prospera et adversa, virtutum semper ornamento utrobique circumseptus appareat; qua ratione tempore sacrificii non assumat quod se in sacramento accepisse non dubitatur? Proinde modis omnibus convenit ut quod quisque percepit in consecratione, hoc et retentet in oblatione, vel perceptione sue salutis; scilicet ut cum sacerdos ad solemnia missarum accedit, aut pro se Deo sacrificium oblaturus, aut sacramentum Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi sumpturus, non aliter accedat quam orario utroque humero circumseptus, sicut et tempore ordinationis sue dignoscitur consecratus: ita ut de uno eodemque orario cervicem pariter et utrumque humerum premens signum in suo pectore præferat crucis. Si quis autem aliter egerit, excommunicationi debitæ subjacebit."
- 9. St. Germanus of Constantinople, circ. 715 A.D. [See the passage quoted, fupra, p. 84.] He speaks of the deacons as distinguished by the light wings of their light oraria.
- 10. Concil. Moguntiacum (Mayence), A.D. 813, Can. xxviii. [Labbe, vol. xi. p, 336, Venet.] "Presbyteri sine intermissione utantur orariis propter differentiam sacerdotii dignitatis."

ORARIUM AND OTHER VESTMENTS, NINTH CENTURY.

11. Riculfus, Bishop of Soissons [† 902] Statutum vii. "Studere etiam debetis ut digne atque honeste vestra ecclesiastica vestimenta præparata habeatis; Albam videlicet ad divinum mysterium unam vel duas nitidas, cum orariis, id est, stolis duabus nitidis, et amictus duobus nitidis, corporalibus quoque totidem nitidis, item zonis duabus, id est cinctoriis, ac manipulis totidem nitidis; ac linteamina altaris habeatis nitida, et casulam sericam, cum qua missa celebretur. Hoc autem omnimodis prohibemus, ut nemo illa alba utatur in sacris mysteriis, qua in quotidiano vel exteriori usu induitur."

ORARIUM TO BE WORN WHEN TRAVELLING.

12. From the Capitula of Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims († 882), and from the Disciplina Ecclesiastica (lib. i. 62) of Regino, Abbot of Prume, in the following century, we find that a priest, when on a journey, was bound to wear his stola or orarium, that his sacred character might be known. If he were robbed, or murdered, non stola vestitus, the crime was to be atoned simplici emendatione, but if cum stola, then emendatione triplici. This last provision was made by a council held at Tribur, near Mayence, in 895.

THE PALLIUM (PAPAL OR ARCHIEPISCOPAL).

13. The political history (so to call it) of the "Pallium Pontificium" in the West, may be briefly summed up as follows:

It was at first 428 conferred on archbishops 429 and metropolitans, not as a necessary qualification for that dignity, but as a symbol of accession of honour and of authority through vicarial powers (vices Apostolicæ Sedis), bestowed by the Roman See. Arles, 430 for example, had been an archiepiscopal See long before Symmachus bestowed the Pallium on Cæsarius. See note θ, p. lviii. And when, nearly a century later, another Archbishop of Arles, Virgilius, applied (by letter) to St. Gregory the Great, for a similar privilege, he had been already for four years in possession of his See, and in the full exercise of his office.

This being so, a question of some difficulty arises out of the language of the first Council of Macon, A.D. 581, which in its fixth canon directs that no archbishop shall celebrate mass *sine Pallio*. Interpreted by the later discipline of the Western Church, when the power of the Papacy had been firmly established,

428 Anastasius, in the Gesta of Marcus, Bp. of Rome, A.D. 336, writes as follows: "Hic constituit ut episcopus Ostiensis, qui consecrat episcopus Urbis, 113 tunc pallio uteretur, et ab eodem Urbis 113 episcopus consecrateur. Hic fecit constitutum de omni ecclesiastico ordine. If the "Pallium" here spoken of is the Papal pallium, which is open to doubt, we have here the first instance of its being conferred by savour of the Roman See, but only for this special occasion of the consecration of the Urbis episcopus.

429 Millin, Voyage en Italie, tom. i. p. 108, fpeaks of a farcophagus of S. Celfus, Archbishop of Milan, on which the Archbishop is represented wearing a Pallium marked with a single cross. [Martigny, D. J. A. C., in voc. Pallium.]

430 "Primate and Metropolitan had been

fynonymous terms applied to the first Bishop of a Province" [Primæ sedis episcopus is the only term allowed by Concil. Carth. iii. A.D. 397], "and fo they continued to be for fome time: fubsequently the heads of the nations, or exarchs of a diocese, monopolised the title. Conc. Chalced. can. 9 et 17. Thus there were three Gallican primates over Celtica, Belgica, and Aquitania, respectively, whose Sees were Lyons, Treves, and Bourges. Again, the Bishop of Arles was styled Primate after that city had been made the refidence of the prætorian Prefect; and hence the frequent contentions between him and the Bishop of Vienne about the primacy, in which the Roman bishops interfered, constituting themselves, as it were, primates over primates." Foulkes' Manual of Ecc. Hift. Oxford, 1851.

this might be supposed to mean till be had been to Rome and there received the Pallium. But such an interpretation in regard of the churches of Gaul in the fixth century would be altogether an anachronism, as well as a forcing of the language of the canon itself. Hence some ritualists 431 have supposed that in the fixth century a Pallium (but not necessarily the Roman Pallium) was worn by all archbishops as the symbol of their office, in the Gallican churches, as in the East, whose customs in many particulars they followed. It is believed, accordingly, that there was a Pallium Gallicanum, such as Gallican archbishops wore, existing side by side with the Pallium Romanum, worn by such bishops only as had the vices Apostolicae Sedis. Hence the language of the canon will imply that an archbishop must wear a Pallium, when celebrating mass, just as a priest was bound at such time to wear an "orarium" (see Appendix E, No. 8). Compare note 424.

A further point of great interest in the history of the Papal Pallium is that of the joint action in regard to it of the chief powers in church and state. With regard to this there are some points which are absolutely beyond question, - others upon which Roman and Gallican (or German) authorities are at iffue. It is admitted that at the close of the fixth century St. Gregory the Great speaks of himself as sending the Pallium with vicarial authority, to an archbishop of Arles, with the affent of the Emperor 432 (i.e. of the Byzantine Emperor, Maurice), and in compliance with the request (petitio) of the King. It is admitted, too, that at a fomewhat earlier date (A.D. 545), Pope Vigilius, when conferring fimilar privileges on Auxanius, Bishop (really Archbishop) of Arles, did so pro gloriosissimi filii nostri Regis Childeberti Christiana devotione mandatis, "as our most glorious son, King Childebert, with Christian devotion, has commissioned us to do." But when, going back yet a hundred years earlier, a rescript of the Emperor Valentinian is produced, which purports to confer, by exclusively imperial authority, archiepiscopal powers, and the right of wearing the Pallium, upon one Joannes, Bishop (thenceforth archbishop) of Ravenna, and attaching these privileges to that see in perpetuity, we reach ground which is, naturally, intolerable to fome. Hieronymus Rubeus, who was the first to publish the document, sought to evade the difficulty by fupposing, that the Pallium spoken of by Valentinian was an imperial (or fecular) Pallium, not the Pallium of an archbishop. Cardinal Baronius shows conclusively that the whole context is such as to exclude such a meaning. And he intimates, what is evidently true, that even were it otherwise, the really important question would be left untouched, that of the power of an emperor to constitute, by his own act and authority, a metropolitan province.

⁴³¹ See Hefele, L. G. p. 217; Ruinart, Differtatio de Palliis Archiepiscop., printed among the Opera Posthuma of Mabillon.

⁴³² But on other occasions, in dealing with Churches, which were created by the missionary zeal of the Roman See, St. Gregory acts

upon the principle alluded to in Note 116. And so (knowing nothing of the older British Church in the Anglia of his day) he created in England the two Archiepiscopal Sees of Canterbury and York, and sent over two Pallia for their use.

and affign archiepiscopal powers. He maintains therefore (followed in this by Cardinal Bona) that the entire document is a forgery. Dr. Hefele, a Roman Catholic, but not an Ultramontane, points out a fatal flaw in one of Baronius' arguments, viz. his affuming (what is notoriously 433 contrary to fact) that the conferring of such powers was in those days a matter of exclusively ecclesiastical jurisdiction, pertaining to the See of Rome. But I cannot help observing that he has not dealt with a far stronger argument, with which the Cardinal backs up his first. If such a rescript as this had been in existence among the archives of Ravenna (or even kept in memory by tradition), in the time of another John of Ravenna (see above, p. 66), contemporary of St. Gregory the Great, how came it that when there was a warm dispute, as in his time there was, concerning the nature and extent of the privileges of the Pallium attaching to the See of Ravenna, no reference was made to this rescript either by John himself (as far at least as we can judge from the correspondence), or by St. Gregory?

On the whole, I incline to think the Cardinal's theory probable, viz. that at some subsequent time of division between the Bishops of Ravenna and of Rome, this document was forged, in order to support the claims to independence put forward by the Northern See. Well would it be if Christian historians could say with truth, that such politic forgeries were without precedent elsewhere in Mediæval times.

Such is the earlier history of the Roman Pallium. If we turn to later history, we shall find another phase of thought concerning the Pallium, symbolised by the interesting historical monument reproduced in Plates XXXII. and XXXIII., and with more exactness of representation at p. lii. And some fifty years after the date of Leo III., and of Charlemagne (the embodied "Church and State" of those Mosaics), we find Pope Nicholas I., in his Responsa ad Bulgaros, laying down (for the first time) the rule which, whenever possible, has been adhered to ever since by the Roman Curia, viz. that no archbishop shall venture to exercise any of his sunctions, even after consecration, till he has received the Pallium from the tomb of the chief of the apossible. Labbe, Conc. tom. viii. p. 541; Innocent III., quoted at p. 160.

Those who would pursue this subject further will find the materials for doing so in the treatises named in note 110, p. 63; and in the passages of ancient authors quoted or referred to in the later editions of Du Cange (G. M. et I. L. in voc. Pallium), and of Meursius, in voc. \(^{\chi_{\text{Quopolegion}}}\).

⁴⁵³ In the Codex Theodofianus, for example, we find an imperial refeript (lib. xvi. tit. ii. No. 45) addressed to the Presect of Illyricum, which places all ecclesiastical affairs in the Illyrian Provinces under the jurisdiction of the

[&]quot;wir reliogissimus, facrosanciae Legis Antistes," the Bishop of Constantinople. With this compare the rescript of Gratian, giving jurisdiction over other metropolitans to Damasus Bishop of Rome. [Gieseler, E. H. p. 434.]

APPENDIX F.

THE SACRED VESTMENTS OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

1. The Amictus, or Amice. 434

The Amice is described in note 178, p. 96. It is nowhere mentioned as a vestment till the ninth century. Walafrid Strabo, even in that century, is silent with regard to it. Note 217, p. 108. There is no corresponding vestment in the Greek Church.⁴³⁵

But though not named in the first eighth centuries as a facred vestment, we can trace its origin in some expressions of St. Jerome, which suggest also the reason of its late appearance among church vestments. In a letter to his friend Nepotianus (a priest), he is warning him not to think that there is any merit in being dirty, and bids him not to take pride, quia linteolum 436 in collo non habeas ad detergendos sudores, i.e. because, following monastic rule, you wear no linen between the neck and the outer woollen garments. As long as church vestments were themselves of linen, such a linteolum was not needed in Church. But when silk and rich ornaments (especially about the upper border of the planeta) came to be worn, it was necessary to prevent their actual contact with the skin, and hence the introduction of the "Amice."

The mysfical meanings attached to it may be seen detailed at p. 88 (Ephod Bad), 96, 111,224 115,241 122, 126, 128, 132, 135.

Dr. Bock gives a plate (vol. ii. Pl. II.) showing the mode of wearing the Amice, both on the shoulders, and (in passing) as a galea (note 178, and Durandus, quoted at p. 167) on the head. The same writer surnishes details as to the paruræ, or ornamental borders, sometimes attached to the Amice, from the tenth century onward (as he thinks). Weiss (Kostümkunde, p. 667) dates these a full century later. [The former is right. See note 441, below.]

2. THE ALB. 437

The history of the Alb during the first eight centuries has been already given. See Introduction, Chap. vii. p. liv.

437 Tunica linea, or tunica talaris, linea, ca-

⁴³⁴ Other names are Humerale, i.e. shoulderpiece, Superhumerale or Ephod (so, perhaps, Rabanus, p. 88); Anabolagium (i.e. ἀναβολάδιον or ἀναβολαΐον) or Anagolajum.

⁴³⁵ M. Victor Gay admits that the Amice cannot be traced back farther than the 8th century; A. A. vol. vi. p. 158. He adds (p. 161), "Les Orientaux plus stricts observateurs des traditions du costume primitif ne l'ont jamais adopté."

⁴³⁶ When in the same letter (Ep. 52) St. Jerome speaks of one who absque amiciu lineo incedit, the word amicius is probably used in its older classical sense. Non absque amiciu lineo incedere, sed pretium vestium linearum non babere, laudabile est. Alioquin ridiculum est et plenum dedecoris, referto marsupio, quod sudarium orariumque non babeas gloriari.

Like other vestments which in primitive times, and even till the close (or nearly so) of the eighth century, were of white linen only, the Alb became enriched in the later centuries, 438 both in respect of material and of ornament. See Bock, L. G. vol. ii. p. 33, $\int qq$, and Hefele, p. 171, $\int qq$. Their ornamentation was effected by adding paruræ, the position of which may be seen in Pl. LXI., on the Alb worn by the priests. Such Albs were known in France as Albæ Romanæ (V. Gay in Didron, A. A.).

The mystical meanings attached to this vestment may be seen on reference to pp. 69, 89, 95, 96, 110, 116, 135, 165.

The full and flowing shape of the Christian Alba was contrasted in the ninth century (see Amalarius, p. 96) with the closely fitting (note 6, p. 2) tunic of Levitical priesthood. But as super-vestments were multiplied in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Alb was necessarily more and more confined, and the modern Alb is almost as closely fitting as was that of the Levitical priest. Compare Pl. IX. and LXI. Even in St. Hugo's time (see p. 132, l. 4) the linea interior, corresponding to the original Alb, was altogether hidden (latet) by the additional vestments worn.

3. THE GIRDLE.

Cingulum, Zona, Balteus.

The Girdle was almost universally worn in ancient times as a matter of convenience, to fasten up the tunic, and in that case, generally, so worn as not to be visible. Exceptionally, too, by kings (note 81, p. 51) and other great personages in the East, it was worn as a distinctive ornament, and in such cases was richly ornamented. Such was the Girdle (see Pl. VIII. and IX.) of the Levitical priesthood.

Hence a double fignificance of the Girdle, α . as a fymbol of *attivity* (fo, generally in Scripture, and in claffical authors); β . as a fymbol of royal or prieftly dignity.

A third fymbolism, that of chastity, which in ecclesiastical writers has almost exclusive place, is to be referred to associations of idea in regard to the Girdle sufficiently samiliar to scholars, and upon which it is not necessary to dwell.

These considerations will explain the mystical fignificance attached to the Girdle from the ninth century onwards. These may be seen in pp. 89, 113, 116, 122, 132, 136.

Till, in the eighth or ninth century, the idea of an intended resemblance

missia, supparus, linea interior, are various names used in speaking of this vestment.

^{438 66} After the 10th century," fays Weiss (K. p. 667). The two kinds of albs were

diffinguished as "Alba pura" (the "white alb plain" of Edward's first Prayer-book), and the Alba parata.

in detail between the Christian and the Levitical vestments was first broached, the Girdle, naturally, was either not ⁴³⁹ worn at all (with the tunica talaris it was not necessary), or, when worn, was not visible, and was thought of only as a matter of convenience. In none of the early monuments of the West before A.D. 800, is any trace of it to be seen. But in the East we have mention of a Girdle as worn by deacons, early in the eighth century. (See p. 86, in fin.)

The mode in which the Girdle was worn in the ninth century is well illustrated in Pl. XXIII., where the priest is in an alb, with close-fitting sleeves (for obvious reasons of convenience in the administration of baptism by immersion) without chasuble. And the alb is evidently girt in at the waist, though no pendent ends are visible. The mode in which these ends appear in the later Roman costume may be seen in Pl. LXI., where they hang down beside the stole. These pendents probably correspond to the subcingulum, or succintrorium of Honorius, p. 136, note 275 a; Innocent III., p. 144, note 301; and Durandus, p. 165, note 337.

It will readily be understood that a richly ornamented girdle, like that of Levitical priesthood (see Pl. VIII. and IX.) would be out of place (because wholly unseen) in the primitive dress of Christian ministry. Hence the cingula auro texta worn by bishops and others of the clergy in the ninth century were, as Durandus says (p. 165, note 336), secularia ornamenta, worn as part of the splendid secular dress then in sashion.

A variety of documents dating from the ninth century lead to the conclusion, that the Zona, as a facred vestment, was not then in general use, but that costly Girdles (Zonæ Romanæ, p. 111) were in some cases used by bishops, as, for example, by Riculfus 441 of Soissons († 915 A.D.). These could

Among the various things quæ in cultu

⁴⁹⁹ Note, as bearing upon this, the reproof given by St. Celestine (jap. p. 45), to certain Bishops in Gaul, who sought "by wearing a girdle (Note 74) round their loins to fulfil the truth of Scripture, not in the spirit, but in the letter."

⁴⁴⁰ Curiously parallel to this are the words, quoted at p. 204, where the priest is described as dressed in albis, and wearing a girdle when about to baptize.

⁴⁴¹ The Will of Bishop Riculfus is a complete inventory of Church vestments such as were used in the wealthier Churches of the 10th century. I subjoin those portions of it which refer to this subject, from the text of Migne (P. C. C. tom. cxxxii. p. 468). For the credit of the Bishop's Latin I will add that such expressions as capas duas, una purpura, &cc., may arise simply from copyists not recognising the abbreviation commonly employed for the accusative case in MS.

Dei pertinent, which he leaves for the use of his Church, and of his successors in the See, he names—

[&]quot;Caligas et sandalias paria duo, amictos cum auro quattuos; albas quinque, tres claras et planas duas; roquos quattuor, unum purpureum cum auro, et alium palleum Græco, et alios duos in Græcia factos; zonas quinque, una cum auro, et gemmis pretiofis, et alias quattuor cum auro; stolas quattuor cum auro, una ex illis cum tintinnabulis; et manipulos fex cum auro, unum fex [leg. ex] iis cum tintinnabulis; casulas episcopales optimas tres, unam dioprafiam, et alias duas de orodonas; annulum aureum unum cum gemmis pretiofis, et uvantos paria unum; camisas ad textum et missalem quattuor, unum cum auro purpureum, er alios palleos corporales quattuor; palleos quattuor, e brosdo unum; dalmaticas tres; capas duas, una purpura et alia bition " (blattea?). [For de orodonas above, Dr. Hefele reads diarodinas, i.e., διαροδίνας, "rose-coloured."]

be worn fo as to be feen with a capa or cope (two of which are mentioned among the bishop's vestments), though not with a casula.

Full details as to the later forms of the Girdle, and the changes in it at various times, will be found in Bock, L. G. tom. ii. p. 50, fqq. Compare Hefele, L. G. p. 78.

4. THE STOLE [ORARIUM OR STOLA].

For the earlier history see Introduction, p. lxii., fqq. and Appendix D. And for the two names see note 144, p. 84.

No fatisfactory 442 account has yet been given of the introduction of this later term Stola. I venture to think that it is to be accounted for by the fact that the word, as employed in the Vulgate, is suggestive of a vestment of folemn state or dignity, particularly of "a priestly robe." And as in the eighth century the Orarium was regarded as the special vestment of Christian priestbood, to be worn bora facrificii under pain of excommunication, it feems not improbable that the Orarium may then have been called, by certain persons, as Raban fays, "the Stole," or, as we might now fay, "the vestment" of the priest. The technical terminology of the Mediæval Church in the West was formed not upon classical Latin, still less upon classical Greek, or, indeed, any Greek at all, but upon the Latin of the Vulgate,443 and of the Latin fathers. We find, accordingly, some indications that the word stola was occasionally used in early writers, as it is occasionally in Scripture, of a long white garment, "a priestly robe," as the tunica talaris. Such probably is the meaning of the word in the only passage in which stola is expressly distinguished from the Orarium by any of the mediæval writers. [Acta Sanctorum, Maius xxvi. p. 393, " Addit Stolam et Orarium."]

This vestment was originally of white linen. But so early as the beginning of the seventh century we find that some of the younger clergy of Spain had taken to "coloured oraria," decked out with gold; and were not even content with one only. Hence the Canon of the Fourth Council of Toledo, quoted at p. 75.

speaks of the prima stola "the best robe," with which the prodigal on his return was clad. And Innocent III., in like manner, quotes the words of the Apocalypse, "stabant... amiesti stolis albis" (p. 163, l. 15), without any thought whatever of the "Stole" technically so called. Compare the passage of Ezekiel, xliv., quoted at p. 29, where see note 50. And that of Honorius (p. 156) referred to in last note.

⁴¹² The fupposition that it was the border of a long and full garment called "fola" (fuch as the older fola matronalis), is deservedly rejected by most writers on this subject. The suggestion made by Honorius (see p. 136), points rather to such an explanation as that made in the text, in this, at least, that he traces back the ecclesiastical use of "fola" to the scriptural (Vulgate) use of the same word. See next note.

⁴⁴³ Thus Honorius (fupra, p. 139, l. 17)

By the ninth century we find such coloured stoles, bedecked with gold, represented both in Italy and in Gaul. In the Pontifical of Bishop Landulsus, some of the presbyters wear two Stoles, differing in pattern one from the other, one being white, with black crosses, the other gold colour.

For notices of the Stole (other than those in Appendix E), see pp. 126,

129, 132, 136, 142, 147, 154, 165, 166, 207.

For representations of it, Pl. XXIII., XXXV., XXXVI., XLIV., XLV., LXI. In the three last, only the lower 445 extremity of the Stole is visible under the dalmatic.

5. THE MANIPLE.

[Pallium Linostimum, Mappa, Mappula, Manipulus, Sudarium, Phanon 161 or Fanon, 233 Mantile, Manutergium.]

The earlier history of the Mappula has been already touched upon. Introduction, p. lxx.

Till the close of the eighth century, we hear of it only as a processional vestment, distinctive of the Roman clergy. But from the beginning of the ninth it has been recognised as one of the facra vestes. See pp. 65, 90, 101 (sudarium in manu), 103, 113 (note 233), 117, 127, 137, 149, 156, 161, (manipulo pro clava utitur).

The ἐγχείζιον, or ὀδόνη, which in the eighth century was carried suspended from the Girdle by deacons in the East, constituted, in all probability, a real parallel to this vestment. But the episcopal ἐπιμανίκια (see note 350, and Pl. LVI.), differ from it in origin, in shape, in symbolism, as they do in name.

For representations of the Maniple, see Plates XLIII., XLVIII., LXI.446

444 In the Pontifical of Landulfus, and in the illuminations, dating from the ninth century, published by Louandre et Maugé, L. A. S. vol. ii. "Le Prince Franc." In this picture the ends of the Stole (which alone are visible) in two figures of bishops, are decked with gold.

445 In this we see the reason for the concentration of ornament in the ends of the Stole, in mediæval times, and for their gradual enlargement consequent upon this.

446 In a French MS. of the ninth contury (subsequent to the adoption of the Roman ritual), bishops and priests are represented holding a Maniple, generally in the right hand (not wearing it pendent from the left wrist as in later use). See Louandre et Maugé

Les A. S. vol. ii. Les Chanoines de St. Martin. So Amalarius (fup. p. 112, 113) writing in Gaul, "fudarium quod . . . in manu gestari mos est."

But in the Pontifical of Landulfus, affigned by all Roman antiquaries to the ninth century (fee Pl. XXX. to XXXIII. of this work) none of the priefts have Maniples. In No. 3, 5, 9, the bishop has on his right hand what might be mistaken for a Maniple, but which on close examination of the facsimiles (drawn and coloured from the originals) now before me, appear rather to be the extremity of a kind of pallium, worn by the bishop over his chasuble; and which appears to be a detached vestment, not a mere "orfrey" (note 312) of the chasuble itself.

6. THE CHASUBLE.

[Planeta, Casula, Infula, Amphibalum.]

For earlier history, see Introduction, p. lxiii, sqq., and Appendix C.

For subsequent notices see Rabanus, p. 91; Amalarius, p. 97; Walafrid, p. 108; Alcuinus, p. 117; St. Ivo, p. 127, (note 217); St. Hugo, p. 132, 133 (note 268); Honorius, p. 136; Innocent III., pp. 148 and 156; Durandus, p. 166, l. 3 (casula quasi clypeo tegitur).

For representations, see Pl. XXVIII., XXX., XXXI. (all these, however, *Planetæ* rather than *Casulæ*), XXXIII. (but?), XXXIV., XXXV., XXXVI., XXXVI., XXXVII., XXXIX., XLII., XLIV., XLV., XLVI., XLVIII., LXI.

With these compare the Greek φαινόλια, both secular, as in Pl. XVIII., XIX., XXI., XXVII., and liturgical, as in Pl. XLI. and LVIII.

For details of ornamentation at various times, see Bock, L. G. p. 101 to 128; Hefele, L. G. p. 199, 200; and Pugin G. G. A. in voc.

This veftment is utterly unlike any of those of Levitical priesthood. And as long as the humble origin of the vestment (see Appendix C, No. 32) was remembered in the church, and it was regarded as common to all clerics, and to monks also (Appendix C, No. 33, 34, 35), as a secular dress, there was of course no special association of ideas of "facrifice" with this vestment. Accordingly we find the earlier writers speaking of it as typical either of "charity," the symbolism 447 which it has retained through all the later liturgical writers, or of those good works and duties which are "common to all of the clerical order," hungering, thirsting, watching, nakedness; reading, singing of psalms, prayer; activity in good works, teaching, silent meditation, and the like (Amalarius, p. 98). But as time went on, and the secular 447 a dress of the clergy no longer resembled the casula in form or in name, the chasuble came to be regarded as the distinctive vestment of Christian priesthood, and therefore (according to the prevailing idea of mediæval times) became specially associated with the idea of sacrifice. See Appendix G, No. 2, and note 458.

NINE ADDITIONAL VESTMENTS PROPER TO BISHOPS ONLY.

7. THE CALIGÆ, LEGGINGS OR STOCKINGS.

First mentioned among the facred vestments by St. Ivo, p. 128, l. 6. He describes them as made of linen, and reaching (from the foot) to the knee,

⁴⁴⁷ See Rabanus, p. 91. The paffage there quoted will show the fanciful ground on which this symbolism was originally based.

Compare St. Ivo (p. 127). Cafula . . quæ quia communis est vestis charitatem significat.

⁴⁴⁷ a On the fecular drefs of the clergy, both in East and West, from the ninth century downwards, fee Thomassinus, De Bea. part i. lib. ii. cap. 48, 50, 51. Cappa was, as we shall fee, the prevailing name for the out-door dress both of clergy and monks.

where they are closely fastened. Hence the symbolism which he gives them. Compare Innocent III., p. 150. In later times the tibialia 448 of a bishop were always made of silk. Of this regulation we retain, by custom, some traces among ourselves.

8. THE SHOES.

Sandalia, Soleæ, Campagæ or Campobi.

First noticed as a facred vestment by Rabanus (supra, p. 92). Compare Amalarius, p. 97, l. 15, and p. 104 (where every minute part of the Shoe has its special symbolism assigned); Alcuinus, p. 112 (in fin.), 115, 118, and note 243; St. Ivo, p. 127; Innocent III., pp. 150 and 157.

Even at an earlier time we find that the kind of Shoes to be worn by ecclefiaftics was matter of strict regulation in churches subject to the Roman See. Note 184, p. 97. Such matters had not been thought unworthy of imperial legislation, in reference to the etiquette of dress at Rome and at Constantinople. See note 427, p. 207, and Plates XXII., XXIV., XXV., XXVIII., XLIII.

9. THE UNDER-GIRDLE.

Subcingulum, Succinetorium.

This vestment has been already noticed, in connection with the Girdle, and in note 313.

But fince that note was written I have discovered what appears to be the real explanation of what is written about the Under-Girdle, by Honorius (p. 136); Innocent III. (pp. 143, 144); and Durandus (quoted in note 313). They all speak, directly or by implication, of two Girdles. And though the language of Durandus and of Innocent III. in p. 153, might admit of the explanation given in note 313, that of Honorius seems inconsistent with it. But the Ordo Romanus V., when describing the vestments of the Pontifex (i.e. the Pope),419 shows that there really were two

⁴⁴⁸ Tibialia is another name for the caligæ. The caligæ of a bishop, wearing ecclesiastical dress, are, of course, not visible. Similar caligæ worn by Charlemagne are seen in the woodcut at p. lii.

⁴⁴⁹ Though in the language of the Western Church generally, Pontifex has the meaning "bishop," as pointed out in note 45, yet at Rome itself (to which, as shown in that note, the word Pontifex has a special relation), this title was distinctively used of the Pope, while to other bishops was given the ordinary title of episcopus. Both these usages of Pontifex are

illustrated by John the Deacon (circ. 875). He sometimes uses it of ordinary bishops, as in lib. iii. cap. 15, 33, 33, or of archbishops, as of John of Ravenna. But in lib. iv. cap. 91, he speaks of Bishop (episcopus) Lucidus, then resident at Rome, going up to dine in full dress (facerdotalibus infulis redimitus) at the patriarchium, with the Pontifex, St. Gregory. In accordance with this, the Ordo Romanus V. distinguishes between the Vestimenta Pontificalia, and the Vestimentum alii (i.e. alius) Romani Episcopi. [See Mabillon's Presace, p. 63.]

distinct Girdles, as indicated by Honorius. The vestments are enumerated as follows: De Vestimentis Pontificalibus. In primis cam (i.e. camisia) et cingitur supra. Dein linea cum cottis, serica, et cingulum. Post bæc mittitur anagolai (i.e. amictus); exinde dalmatica minore, postea majore dalmatica, et fupra orarium. Post hæc planeta, et supra mittitur pallium. The inner Girdle over the camissa, or shirt, represents the older Girdle of primitive usage, without ornament, and altogether out of fight. The cingulum, afterwards spoken of, is an ornamented girdle, introduced among the "vestments" at a much later period, in imitation of the ornamented Girdle of Levitical priefthood.

10. THE EPISCOPAL TUNIC.

Tunica Pontificalis, T. poderis, T. interior vel hyacinthina.

Innocent III., in his enumeration of the pontifical (i.e. episcopal) vestments, distinguishes between the Alb, p. 145, sqq., the Tunic, and the Dalmatic. All these are really Tunics, the two latter having been superadded one after the other for richer ornament. The process was probably this. The tunica alba, made of linen, of the more primitive dress, was replaced by one of filk, often of blue filk, in imitation of the tunica byacinthina of the Levitical highpriest. A rich vestment of this kind required an under tunic, for obvious reasons. And, accordingly, that under Tunica was now called alba simply, the fecond Tunic (which was talaris, but not quite fo long as the alb) followed; and the Dalmatic, shorn now of its ancient length, in order to leave the second tunic visible, followed third in order. All this will readily be understood by reference to the figure of the bishop in Pl. LXI. The gradual addition of one Tunic after another may be traced from the ninth century downwards in Pl. XXXVII. (one only); XXXIX. and XLIV. (two); XLVIII. and LXI., (three). The Ordo Romanus V. (/up. § 9) enumerates three Tunics in all, besides the camisia.

The language of St. Ivo (see p. 122), and previously of Amalarius (p. 100, 101), fully confirms this supposition. St. Ivo says, that both in the old and the new covenant, only Pontifices (high-priests in the one case, bishops in the other), wear two Tunics, the second Tunic, the tunica byacinthina, being that which was exclusively theirs. This Tunica he calls interior, as does Amalarius (p. 101), not of course in reference to the alba 450 (or to the tunica talaris of the high-priest), but in reference to the dalmatic. Alcuinus, on the other hand, speaks of the Levitical Tunic of blue (p. 110) as tunica exterior, an outer Tunic, in respect of the white Tunic of linen beneath it. St. Hugo varies yet again from these. The two Tunics are to him the linea interior

camissia, and of the two others as duæ tunicæ. the Ordines Romani as dalmatica major and See p. 101, and note 194. And what Ama- minor.

⁴⁵⁰ Hence Amalarius speaks of the alba as | larius calls duæ tunicæ, appear in the fifth of

(answering to our shirt), which (latet) is unseen, and the linea exterior or alb, which was visible. See pp. 131, 132.

II. THE DALMATIC (OF THE BISHOP).

The general history of the Dalmatic has already been fully investigated See Introduction, p. lv, 199.

But the Dalmatic now in question is not the full and flowing white linen vestment of primitive times (with simple stripes for ornament, see Pl. XVII., XXXIII.), but the highly ornamented vestment worn by bishops and other high officials of the Church, immediately under the casula or planeta. In some instances (Ordo Rom. V. quoted in § 9) two such Dalmatics are spoken of. Representations of this vestment may be seen (immediately under the chasuble) in Pl. XXXIX., XLII., XLIV., XLV., XLVI., LXI., in which last is seen the deacon's Dalmatic also.

12. THE MITRA. 451

First mentioned among the Sacræ Vestes by Honorius of Autun, about the middle of the twelfth century. See p. 138. But it had been in use, in some parts at least of the West, some time previously. The figure of St. Dunstan (Pl. XL.) in a MS. of the eleventh century, shows him wearing a cap ex by so confecta, much such as that to which the language of Honorius points, and this is the earliest example of the kind which I have seen. I should except, perhaps, one of the bishops represented in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwald, belonging to the Duke of Devonshire. This is of the tenth century. The figure is represented with a kind of diadem, a narrow circlet of gold, with jewels round the head. This, however, is not really of the nature of a "Mitra," and may not improbably be fuggestive of royal rank, to which church dignitaries could then not unfrequently lay claim. Some ritualists have fought to assign a much earlier date to the "Mitra." The passages they allege have been already considered (Appendix B, No. 1 to 6). If we omit these (for the reasons given in that Appendix) we shall find that the earliest mention of the Mitra, which Dr. Hefele can adduce as genuine,

xxviii. 4) or tiara (fee note 84, p. 52), as in Exod. xxviii. 37, 40; xxix. 6; or mitra, as in xxix. 9; xxxix. 26 and 20. In St. Isidore, mitra (as in classical Latin) means a cap worn by women. Orig. xix. 31, and De Off. Ecc. lib. ii. cap. 17. So in Tertullian, De Virg. Vel. (vol. iii. p. 32).

Other names for the Mitra are Tiara (note 84, p. 52), Pileus, Cidaris, Infula (note 296 a, and Appendix B, No. 4) Phrygium (Menardus in Lib. Sacram. S. Gregor. p. 212).

⁴⁵¹ The word μίσεα (quasi μιστερὰ from μίσος thread), was probably by origin an adjective. Hence its double use in classical Greek, meaning a woman's cap (σσεφάνη being understood), or a girdle, when ζώνη is the word to be supplied. In the LXX it is used as the rendering of Miznepheth, the priest's cap (Exod. xxviii. 33; xxix. 6; xxxix. 31), for which elsewhere (Exod. xxviii. 4, 35, and 36; xxix. 9; xxxix. 27) κίδαρις is employed. The Vulgate has in corresponding passages either cidaris (Exod.

is of the eleventh century, where in 1049 A.D. mention 452 is made, on more than one occasion, of a Mitra Romana, a kind of Mitra specially characteristic of the Roman Church. And to the same effect, Peter Damian, writing circ. 1073, to Cadalous, then "antipope," fays, "Habes nunc forsitan mitram, habes juxta morem Romani pontificis rubram cappam (opp. tom. i. p. 121, Epist. lib. i. 20); "It may be that you now are wearing the vestments which properly belong to the pope, the mitre and red cope." Menardus states that in all the ritual books before 1000 A.D. which he had examined, there was no mention of the Mitra, and that he believes vix ante annum post Christum natum millefimum mitræ usum in ecclesia fuisse. The documents quoted in this work all point to the same conclusion. See the language of Alcuinus, quoted at p. 112. Tiara (that of the Levitical priest) erat vestis, pileolum videlicet rotundum. babens vittas. . . . Summus Pontifex (the high-priest) præter pileum habebat coronam auream triplicemque. 453 . . . Hujuscemodi vestis non babent (leg. habetur) in Romana ecclesia vel in nostris regionibus, and then again, after speaking of the lamina aurea, he adds, Neque banc ornamenti speciem Christi accepit ab illis ecclesia. This treatise dates (note 218) from late in the tenth century. Compare note 217, in fin.

Various forms of the Mitra will be feen in Plates XLIV., XLVII., XLVII., XLVIII., XLVIII., L., I.I., LII. to LV., LXI. And fee description of Pl. XXXIX.

For details as to the ornamentation of the Mitra, and its varieties of form at different periods, see Bock, L. G. tom. ii. p. 153, sqq.

452 In a charter of Leo IX., conferring privileges on Eberhard, Archbishop of Treves: Quapropter omnibus ipsis laudantibus et respuentibus [respondentibus?] pro invessitura insinumus, qua et wos et successores westrum insignimus, qua et wos et successores westru in Ecclesiasticis officiis Romano more semper utamini, semperque wos esse Romano fedis discipulos reminiscamini. [Apud Dufresne in woc.]

453 Among the expressions in ancient writers alleged as bearing upon this point, are some few, from which it appears that corona vestra (literally "your chaplet") was a term of formal courtesy in addressing bishops and others of the clergy as early as the fourth century. The only corona of Christian ministry known to antiquity, even as late as St. Isidore's time (see p. 68, above), was the chaplet or circle of hair beneath the tonsure. Tertullian, as is well known, regards coronæ as effentially symbols of heathenism, and asks (after his rheto-

rical manner), Quis Patriarcha, quis Propheta

. . . . vel postea Apostolus . . . aut Episcopus invenitur coronatus? De Cor. Mil. 350. I can only fuggest that " corona westra" may have been, in the conventional language of Rome in the fourth century, an expression of courtefy answering to "Your Reverence," "Your Grace," and the like in modern times; and imported into Christian usage from an idiom, which originally had reference to the coronæ of heathen priesthood. The passages, of which I speak, are, a. Hieronymus ad Augustinum, No. 26. "Fratres tuos, dominum meum Alypium et dominum meum Evodium, ut meo nomine salutes, precor coronam vestram; and B. St. Augustine, ep. 147, ad Proculianum. Per coronam nostram nos adjurant vestri (h. e. the Donatists); per coronam vestram vos adjurant nostri. Many passages to the same effect are quoted by Dufresne, in voc., and he adds that the phrase δ υμέτερος στέφανος is used in the fame fense by some of the Greek Fathers.

13. THE GLOVES...

Chirothecæ, Guanti,454 Uvanti.

Like many other parts of the full episcopal costume as developed in the twelfth century, the Gloves (chirothecæ) had long been in use, for practical purposes, before they were exalted to the rank of "sacred vestments," and invested with a symbolism of their own. The first writer who so mentions them is Honorius (note 296°), early in the twelfth century.

Full details concerning these will be found in Bock, L. G. ii. 131, sqq.

14. THE EPISCOPAL RING.

In Roman usage, of the classical times, Rings were used as insignia of rank, and a Ring of a particular kind was exclusively appropriated to those of the equestrian order.

Early in the seventh century we find mention (see p. 75) of a Ring as one of the distinctive infignia of a bishop. When the coffin of Bishop Agilbert of Paris (seventh century) was opened, De Saussay, who was present, saw on his singer a gold ring, with a jewel on which was a likeness of our Lord and St. Jerome. Other similar instances are referred to by Bock, L. G. ii. p. 207, 199.

That no mention of the Ring, as one of the infignia of a bishop, should be made by any of the writers of the ninth, or even tenth century, quoted in this volume, may be accounted for by the fact, that they occupy themselves more particularly with those vestments which resembled (or were thought to resemble) those of Levitical priesthood. Of the later writers, Honorius is the first to speak of it (see p. 139); and he is followed by Innocent III., p. 149 and 157; as afterwards by Durandus, and all the later ritualists. 455

15. THE STAFF, AND THE CROZIER.

Baculus, Pedum, Virga, Cambuca, Ferula.

The Staff, as a distinctive mark of a bishop, is mentioned in the Acts of the Fourth Council of Toledo. The allusion to the Baculus in the letter of Celestine, Bishop of Rome (quoted at p. 45), is such as so indicate that the carrying of a Baculus, by bishops, as matter of ceremonial, was an innovation peculiar to certain parts of Gaul at that time (circ. 430 A.D.). The earliest

⁴⁵⁴ These forms, which with Wantus, Quanto, Gantus (whence the French "gant"), are all of German origin, and indicate the source from which the use of gloves was in-

troduced into Europe.

⁴⁵⁵ For this fee Innocent III., quoted at p. 147, and p. 155; and Honorius, p. 139.

representation of a Staff in art-monuments, that I have seen, are those in Pl. XLII. and XLIII. But a "cross," somewhat resembling the later Crozier of an archbishop (see Pl. XLVIII.), is attributed both to St. Peter and to St. Laurentius, in the mosaic dating from the time of Pelagius II. (sed. 578 to 590), reproduced from a drawing in the collection at Windsor in Pl. XXIX. The same plate represents a Virga in the hand of our Lord, the symbolism of which, as the "rod" or "sceptre" of divine power, has already been noticed. (Introduction, p. xl.) For the later forms of the Staff and Crozier, appropriated to bishops and archbishops respectively, see Plates XLII., XLVII., XLVIII., LXI; and for the abbot's Staff, Pl. XLVII. and XLIX. For the Pallium, see Introduction, p. lxxi, sqq., and Appendix E, No. 13, to end. For the Orale (or Fanon) of the Pope, note 314, p. 153; and for the Pectoral Cross, note 315. To this last ornament answers the ignishance (note 342), worn by bishops in the East.

APPENDIX G.

THE VESTMENTS PRESCRIBED IN THE FIRST PRAYER-BOOK OF EDWARD VI., AND IN THE LATER BOOKS.

The veftments ordered in the Prayer-book of 1549, are at the holy Communion, a. "for the priest that shall execute the holy ministry, the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a white all plain, with a vestment or cope;" B. where there are priests or deacons, ready to help, these are to wear "albs with tunacles."

1. The first-named is the "white Alb plain." By the Alb, when distinguished, as here it is, from the surplice, is meant a white tunic, of much scantier 456 dimensions than the surplice, and, as such, suited for wearing under a super-vestment, such as the "vestment or cope." By plain (pura) is meant without the "apparels" (note 438, p. 213), which, in mediæval times, had been adopted as ornaments to the Alb.

For the earlier history of the Alb, see Introduction, p. liv, sqq. and Appendix F. No. 2.

2. The "vestment." In strictness of grammar, one who speaks of wearing

⁴⁵⁶ See p. 213, l. 10, fqq.

"a vestment or cope," would be understood to mean but one vestment, of which "cope" was an alternative name. But it appears clear that in the fifteenth and fixteenth centuries, the word "veftimentum" was often 457 used, with a limited meaning, of that which was then regarded as the special vestment of Christian ministry, viz. the chasuble.

It is clear that the last-named vestment was in the later pre-Reformation times regarded as specially appropriate to "the sacrifice of the altar." This will appear first from the language of the older Inventories, quoted and examined below (p. 226). And the inference thence made is curiously confirmed by another rubric of the same first Prayer-book. Though an option is given (in the rubric already quoted) between "veftment or cope," for the priest at holy communion, yet in the rubric providing for services on Wednesdays and Fridays, when there is no communion, a "cope" is prescribed without any alternative,458

3. The vestment next named is the Cope (Cappa or Capa). A representation of the Cope, dating from the time of Henry VII., will be feen in Pl. LI. An earlier example at Pl. XLVII., and XLVIII.

The word capa is first met with in the Origines of St. Isidore. And the two definitions which he gives to the word (answering, respectively, to our "cape," or hood," 459 and "cope"), ferve to cover the whole range of meanings attached to the word even to the present time. "Capa," he says, in one place, "dieta, quod capitis est ornamentum;" and then again, "capa . . . quia quasi totum capiat hominem."

It is with the fecond of these two meanings that we are now concerned. The Cope was originally a garb for out-door use, and was therefore furnished, as were almost all fuch garments in primitive times, with a "hood," for protection of the head against cold or rain.460

457 It was also used as an inclusive term, for a complete set of vestments for "Celebrant, Epistoler, and Gospeller," with altar-hangings to match (ejusdem sectæ). See passages to this effect quoted below in note 463.

458 I have to thank Mr. Droop for calling my attention to this. He adds, as further, and very conclusive proof of the distinctive position then assigned to the chasuble, a reference to a kind of "directorium," in the Lutheran Church in Brandenburg, published in MDXL. Provision is there made for part of the communion office being performed when there are no communicants, but with the direction appended, that the priests are in that case not to wear a chasuble, but a cope (korkappe) only, or in village churches where there are no copes, a common furplice (ein schlechten Corrock), lest simple folk should suppose that it was intended to celebrate mass,

after the former fashion, without communicants. Kirchen Ordnung in Churfürstenthum der Mareken zu Brandenburg u. s. w. Berlin, In the British Museum under "Liturgies." Brandenburg, c. 47, d.]

459 For this we have direct authority at a later time. Theodemarus, writing from Italy to Charlemagne, and speaking of the dress of the monks of Monte Cassino (Dufresne, in voc. Capa). Illud indumentum quod a Gallis monachis cuculla dicitur, nos Capam vocamus. We may trace the same meaning of Capa as equivalent to "hood" in the eleventh century (Concil. Metense, A.D. 888). when the use of Cotti and Mantelli, with Capa, was forbidden to laymen, and prescribed to monks.

460 Hence the name Pluviale, by which the cope is often known. See p. 167, and note 339, in voc.

Such a garment, it is obvious, admits of every possible variety in material, and colour, and ornamentation. And we find, accordingly, that the *Coppa* was used by laymen, by monks, by the clergy of all orders. 460 a But even the richest Copes were for the most part considered as vestments of stately dignity to be worn in processions, and on ceremonial occasions, not as having any especial relation to the ministerium Altaris.

One very common usage of the simpler Cappa was that of a choir-vestment for the Cantores. See note 295, p. 141. Being made of a thick woollen material, and surnished with a hood, it was well suited for such a purpose as a protection from cold.⁴⁶¹

4. The Tunacle.⁴⁶² The rubrics of 1547 were written so as to be understood by persons who, with very sew exceptions, were neither scholars nor antiquaries, but who were acquainted with the conventional meaning of terms in common use in this country at the time. That common use we may now trace in the barbarous Latin, or the Latinised English, of church Inventories. And in these we find that Tunicæ are distinguished, as in this rubric, from Albæ. And it is clear that the direction given in this rubric of the first Prayer-book of 1549, is based throughout upon the old arrangement. Such lists as those given below,⁴⁶³ when carefully examined with special reference to the numbers of each separate vestment named, will at once illustrate, and be illustrated by, the rubric we are now considering. In each case the "vestimentum," spoken of (the word here meaning a complete set of vestments for three persons, the Celebrant, Epistoler, and Gospeller), contains three of all such vestments as in pre-Reformation use would be worn by all three, but has one Casula only, and two Tunicæ. In mediæval times, these Tunicæ,

460 a A cappa rubra is spoken of as one of the distinctive marks of a pope in a letter of Peter Damianus, quoted at p. 221. A cappa pavonacea (violet colour) is worn by Roman cardinals.

461 For detailed information as to the shape, size, and ornamentation of the Cope, see Bock, L. G. ii. 287 sqq. or Pugin's Glossary, in voc.

462 The very form of the word Tunacles (instead of the more correct Tunicles) indicates the debased period from which the word dates. Properly speaking, the diminutive Tunicula answers to the χιτώνισχος of the Greek Church, and is correctly used of any of those sporter forms of the Tunic, which from early times, and from affociations of idea which were all but universal, served to mark inseriority of dignity on the part of those who wore them. They were also suggestive of the more active ministration required of the inserior

orders of the clerical body.

463 Inventory of St. George's Chapel, Windfor. "Item de dono Regis Henrici quarti unum vestimentum blodii coloris intextum cum albis canibus, viz., duabus frontellis, duabus ridellis [Fr. rideaux] una casula, duabus tunicis, tribus amictibus, cum stolaet fanone 233 ejusdem sectæ. Item unum vestimentum album bonum de panno adaurato pro principalibus festis beatæ Mariæ, cum casula, duabus tunicis, tribus albis, tribus amictibus, cum stola et fanonibus, quattuor capis ejusdem sectæ, cum diversis orfreis,319 et quatuor aliis capis diversæ sectæ de panno adaurato, cum duabus ridellis et toto apparatu Altaris five frontello." [In another "vestimentum," three Casulæ are mentioned without any mention in detail of other vestments.] Quoted by Pugin, G. G. A. in voc. " vestment."

which in English ⁴⁶⁴ Inventories appear as "Tunacles" (note 462), were in many cases of costly material, and richly embroidered. Their shape resembled that of the later Dalmatics, and may be seen in the representation of the deacon in Pl. LXI.

2. MINISTERING VESTMENTS OF A BISHOP, A.D. 1548.

In the last page of the Liturgy authorised by the Act of 1548, occurs the following rubric:

"In the faying or finging of Mattins and Evenfong, baptizing and burying, the minister in parish churches, and chapels annexed to the same, shall use a surplice. And in all cathedral churches and colleges the archdeacons, deans, provosts, masters, prebendaries, and fellows, being graduates, may use in the quire, beside their surplices, such hood as appertaineth to their several degrees. And whensoever the bishop shall celebrate the holy communion in the church, or execute any other public ministration, he shall have upon him, beside his rochette, a surplice or albe, and a cope or vestment, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain."

Taking these in their order, we have,-

1. The Rochette 465 [Rochetum, or Roquetum, It. Rochetto, Fr. Rochet.]

This is by origin a German word, of which Rock (a coat) is the modern form, appearing, in respect of Church usage, in the form roquus, as early as the tenth century, in the will of Bishop Riculfus above quoted (p. 214, note 441); and in modern German in the word "chorrock," i.e. quire dress, or surplice. The Rochet answers to the colobium of primitive use, being a tunica talaris without sleeves. 466 It came to be assigned more especially to episcopal use, because it was suited, as the full surplice is not, to be worn under a supervestment, such as the cope. 467

2. A Surplice or Alb. These two vestments are (as their juxtaposition in this rubric intimates) slight variations of what was by origin one vestment.

^{464 &}quot;Item, a Chasuble of green bauiekin, with tunacles of one suit, with three albes of divers forts with their apparel." "A Chasuble of purple velvet . . . with two tunacles and three albes of the same suit." From Dugdale's Inventory of vestments belonging to Lincoln Cathedral, quoted by Pugin in voc. "Chasuble."

⁴⁶⁵ In Anglo-Saxon, Roc. Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, in the eleventh century, bequeathed to the use of the cathedral church, inter alia, (ii dalmatica, and iii pistel roccas, i.e. Epistoler's rochets). [Dr. Rock, C. O. F. vol. i. p. 385.]

⁴⁶⁶ Lindwodus (apud Dufresne) ad Provincial. Eccl. Cantuar. lib. iii. tit. 27. "Rochetum differt a superpelliceo quia superpelliceum habet manicas pendulas, sed Rochetum est sine manicis, et ordinatur pro clerico ministraturo facerdoti, vel forsan ad opus ipsius sacerdotis in baptizando pueros ne per manicas ipsius brachia impediantur."

⁴⁶⁷ The Chimere [It. Zimarra, Sp. Chamarra, Fr. Chamarre, or Cimarre] is itself probably a modification of a Cope. See mention of the Chimere in the *Ordo*, &c., of Archbishop Parker's consecration, quoted at p. 229, No. 3.

One of the earliest notices of the Superpelliceum, 468 [O. Fr. Sourpelis] has been already quoted (p. 166). The first in date to speak of the Superpelliceum is Stephanus 469 Tornacensis, towards the close of the twelsth century (born 1135 A.D., Bishop of Tournay 1192). The allusions he makes to it imply that the vestment was one which had long been in use. It was of linen, and talare of sull length, while the cappæ mentioned by the same author are of wool.

It is impossible to say how long this name may been in popular use before it appeared in ecclessifical literature. But in shape and general arrangement it is a combination into one vestment of the tunica and super-vestment of the primitive Christian dress, as shown in the earliest monuments of the West. [Plates XIV., XV., XVII.] And it still more closely resembles the dress which by the traditions of the Eastern Church was assigned as a sacred vestment to the Apossles. See the sigure of St. James in Pl. LXIII.

The furplice is, in point of fact, a tunica talaris, made full and flowing, as was the primitive tunica alba of Christian ministry, and with sleeves which correspond to the early Greek type just spoken of, rather than to the comparatively small sleeve of the Roman dalmatic.

The difference between the Roman and English Surplice may be seen in Pl. LXIII. And the all but exact correspondence in appearance between our present English Surplice and Stole, of ordinary usage, and the primitive dress attributed to apostles, may be seen on reference to the central sigure of the right-hand group (spectator's right) in Pl. XV.

- 3. The Alb has been already noticed. Sup. p. 223, No. 1.
- 4. The Vestment or Cope. Sup. pp. 223, 224, No. 2 and 3.
- 5. The "Pastoral Staff." See above, p. 222, No. 15. In the Ordo, &c., quoted at p. 229, it is made matter of special remark that there was no ceremonial traditio of a pastoral staff to the archbishop. In mediæval times this 470 constituted a special ceremony of which a full account is given by Gervase of Canterbury [Rock, C. O. F. p. 226] at the close of the twelsth century.
- 6. The *Hood*. Both the *Cafula* and the *Cappa* were originally furnished with a hood (*cuculus*, *capitium*, *cappa*) for the protection of the head. So were the Pænula and Caracalla, ²⁵ of still earlier use.

Our own word *Hood* is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Hod*, virtually identical with the German *Hut*, and our own more modern "hat."

⁴⁶⁸ So called as being worn over the pelliceum, the woollen or furred coat.

⁴⁶⁹ In his 106th letter (Migne, P. C. C. tom. ccxii. col. 394), which he fends with a prefent of a new furplice to Cardinal Albinus, and with it a fermon which he had preached thortly before "de myflica superpellicei confec-

tione." In another form (linea superpellicealis) the word occurs in reference to the vestment of John, Archbishop of Rouen († 1076). Dustresne in voc.

⁴⁷⁰ Or rather the delivery of the Crowier. See p. 222, No. 15.

The Hood which in primitive times formed part of the fuper-vestment, was afterwards separated from it. Thus separated, it was lined with fur for the greater comfort (and with costly sur for the greater dignity) of them who wore it. The material of which it was to be made, the lining with which it was to be furnished, became matters of minute regulation. Hence the various Doctor's, Master's, Bachelor's hoods, of our present Universities.⁴⁷¹

2. THE PRAYER-BOOK OF 1552.

In the first Prayer-book, authorised by the Act of 1548, the more important of the older vestments were retained, no mention, however, being made of Amice, Girdle, or Under-Girdle, Stole, Maniple, Caligæ, and Sandalia, Mitre, Gloves, or Ring.

In the fecond Prayer-book a further change 472 was made. The fecond rubric before Morning Prayer runs as follows:

"The minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither alb, vestment, nor cope, but, being archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochette, and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only."

3. Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, a.d. 1559.

In the injunctions issued in the first year of Queen Elizabeth no mention is made of vestments. But in the interpretations appended to them by the archbishop and bishops (Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* p. 203, fqq.), there occurs the following direction:

"That there be used only but one apparel; as the cope in the ministration of the Lord's Supper, and the Surplice in all other ministrations."

4. PRAYER-BOOK OF 1559.

This book, the use of which was enjoined by the Parliament of 1558–1559, has the following rubric on vestments:

"And here is to be noted, that the minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times of his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church, as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the

lian we find two fets of derivates, some from the compound form, as Sp. Almucio, It. Almucia; others from the simple word, as Sp. Muceta, It. Mozzetta.

⁴⁷¹ Of fimilar origin is the Amess (often confused with the Amice). The word Amess appears in its earliest form in the Provencal Almuse, in which the Arabic article is combined (as in many words dating from after the Saracen conquests in Europe) with a European word, the German Mutree (a cap) Sp. Mozzo. In mediæval Latin it is Almusium, in O. Fr. Aumuce, now Aumuse. In Spanish and Ita-

⁴⁷² The question of the vestments had in the interval been brought prominently into discussion in consequence of Bishop Hooper resulting to be consecrated unless the use of the Pontifical vestments were dispensed with.

reign of King Edward VI. according to the act 473 of parliament fet in the beginning of this book."

- 5. Vestments 474 worn by the Bishops at the Consecration of Archeishop Parker, Dec. 16, 1559.
- 1. At Morning Prayer (mane, circiter quintam aut sextam) and Sermon, the archbishop elect wore his doctor's gown and hood (toga talari coccinea caputioque indutus).
- 2. Sermon ended, the archbishop, and the four bishops, facellum egrediuntur... fe ad facram communionem paraturi. They return vested as follows:
 - a. The archbishop (elect) linteo superpelliceo (quod vocant) induebatur.
- β. The Bishop of Chichester in a Cope: capa serica ad sacra peragenda paratus utebatur.
- γ . Two chaplains of the archbishop who affisted at holy communion wore filk copes also.
- 3. The Bishop of Hereford (elect) 475 and the suffragan Bishop of Bedford linteis superpelliceis induebantur.
 - 2. Milo vero Coverdallus non nisi toga lanea talari utebatur.
- 3. After the Confectation Service, and the Communion, the archbishop went out, accompanied by the four bishops, and speedily returned, "alba episcopali, superpelliceo, chimeraque 467 (ut vocant) ex nigro serico indutus, circa collum vero collare quoddam ex preciosis pellibus sabellinis (vulgo sables vocant) consuum gestabat. Pari quoque modo Cicestrensis et Herefordensis suis episcopalibus amictibus, superpelliceo sc. et chimera 467 uterque induebatur. D. Coverdallus vero, et Bedsordiæ suffraganeus, togis solummodo talaribus utebantur. The archbishop then formally delivered the white wands of office to the principal persons of his household, and then left the chapel attended by them, and accompanied by the bishops.

6. The Advertisements 476 of 1564.

"Item. In the ministration of the holy communion in cathedrall and

great Seale of England, for causes ecclesiastical, or of the metropolitan of this realme."

474 Rituum et ceremoniarium Ordo in confecratione, &c. Cardwell, Doc. Ann. i. p. 243.

243.
475 John Scory, late Bishop of Chichester, but now of Hereford elect.

476 Put forth, at the Queen's injunction, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropo-

⁴⁷³ This refers to the Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer (1 Eliz.), re-enacting the fecond Prayer-book of Edward VI., but with certain specified alterations, whereof this of the vestment is one. The direction, however, is thus modified, "until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majestie, with the advice of her commissioners appointed and auctorised under the

collegiate churches, the principall minister shall use a cope, with gospeller and epistoler agreably; and at all other prayers to be sayde at the communion table, to use no copes, but surplesses.

"Item. That the deane and prebendaries weare a furpleffe with a filk hood in the quyer; and when they preach in the cathedrall or collegiate churches

to weare their hood.

"Item. That every minister saying any publique prayers, or ministringe the sacraments, or other rites of the churche, shall wear a comely surples with sleeves. . . . "

7. CANONS OF 1603.

XVII. "All masters and fellows of colleges or halls, and all the scholars and students in either of the universities, shall in their churches and chapels, upon all Sundays, holy days, and their eves, at the time of Divine Service, wear surplices according to the order of the Church of England; and such as are graduates shall agreeably wear with their surplices such hoods as do severally appertain unto their degrees."

XXIV. and XXV. By the terms of these canons, the "principal minister" at the holy communion, in cathedral and collegiate churches, is to wear a decent cope. But "when there is no communion, it shall be sufficient to wear surplices. Saving that all deans, masters, and heads of collegiate churches, canons, and prebendaries, being graduates, shall daily at the times both of prayer and preaching, wear with their surplices such hoods as are agreeable to their degrees."

PRAYER-BOOK OF 1604.

In this Book the ornaments of the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. are re-enacted as follows:

"And here is to be noted, that the minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the Church, as were in use by authoritie of Parliament in the second yeere of the reigne of Edward the Sixt, according to the Acte of Parliament 477 set in the beginning of this booke."

8. PRAYER-BOOK OF 1662.

To this are prefixed, a. The Act I. Eliz. (see note 473); B. The Act of

litan, the Bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, Winton, and Lincoln, "Commissioners in causes ccclessastical with others." See Note 473 above. As to their authority, see Cardwell, Doc. Ann. vol. i. p. 287.

The fame advertisements contain some-

what minute directions for the "outwarde apparell of perfons ecclefiafticall," i.e. for their fecular drefs.

477 This Act being I Eliz. For the uniformitie, &c., containing the modifying clause, "until other order shall be taken," &c.

Uniformity, XIV. Carol. II. "Whereas in the first year of the late Queen Elizabeth," &c.

The rubric as to vestments is as follows:

"Here is to be noted, that such ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the authority of Parliament, in the fecond 478 year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth."

478 The Parliament which authorifed the first Prayer-book of Edward VI., met Oct. 15, 1548; was prorogued till Nov. 24 by reason of the Plague. The Bill for confirming "the order of divine worship," which had been drawn out "by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with other learned and discreet

to the Commons, Dec. 10 to the Lords, and was agreed to Jan. 15, 1549. The Parliament was not prorogued till March 14. And as Edward's accession dates from Jan. 28, 1547, the fession is technically described as 2 and 3 Edward VI., and yet the "authority of Parliament" is faid to be given to this bishops and divines," was brought in Dec. 9 | book "in the second year of King Edward VI."

PART III.

PLATES AND DESCRIPTIONS.

Frontispiece. DIPTYCH OF S. PAUL.⁴⁷⁹ Photographed from a facfimile in fictile ivory in the British Museum. Imperfectly represented, and wrongly described, as a *Confular* diptych, by Duval.

In the centre compartment is the scene described in Acts, xxviii. 1 to 6. The viper is falling from St. Paul's hand; the "fire of dried wood" is at his seet; the memory, the chief officer of the island, is looking on in astonishment; a soldier (the dress marks him as a "barbarian") is in attendance upon him.

In the lower compartment are some of those "which had infirmities in the island," whom the soldier, mentioned above, is directing to St. Paul for healing.

In the upper compartment St. Paul 480 is feated on an apostolic throne, and giving his blessing to a bishop.481 In this we may probably see a trace of an early Roman tradition, coinciding with the conclusions to be drawn from Scripture, and from the epistle of St. Clement of Rome. From these it appears clear that St. Paul, and not St. Peter, 482 was the first "apostle and bishop" of Rome; though St. Peter no less than St. Paul witnessed there, by his death, for Christ. Compare p. xlii. 1. 1, 199.

PLATES I. TO VII., ILLUSTRATIONS OF CLASSICAL COSTUME.

Pl. I. The Monument of Caius Sestius. The father (dressed in tunica talaris and toga) bids "Farewell, for ever," to his daughter.

⁴⁷⁹ The original was at one time in the possession of Baron Denon, and belongs now to M. Carrand of Lyons.

480 This is plain from a comparison of this figure with that of St. Paul in the central compartment. Contrast the figures of consuls in Plates XXII., XXIII.

481 So I infer from the book of the Gofpels held in the left hand, this having been in early times the diffinguishing infigne of a bishop. See p. xlii, and compare Plates XXX., XXXI., XLIV., XLV., XLVI, and, for the East, the figure of St. James in Pl. LXIII.

482 This will account for the fact that in very many of the early monuments at Rome precedence is given to St. Paul over St. Peter; the former being often placed on the right hand of our Saviour, St. Peter on the left.

- Pl. II. From the Arch of Titus. The Emperor, in the long garb of peaceful (p. ix, s) rule, gives audience 483 to his people. The figures standi n around and below him illustrate the various types of dress described in Introduction, Chap. ii. p. vii, fqq.
- Pl. III. From the Column of Trajan.⁴⁸⁴ The Emperor, before the Prætorian tent, offers the facrifice known as the Suovetaurilia. He is clad in a toga (fee p. xiv), and has the head covered (p. 182, No. 17); in his hand a patera. The actual facrificers are nudi (note π , p. xxi), naked to the waift.
- Pl. IV. From the Arch of Constantine. The Emperor, in the garb of war 485 (p. xl, v), addresses the people of Rome.
- Pl. V. The Ornamented Planeta 486 and the Dalmatic.487 The first of these figures is by most antiquaries described as dressed in a Pænula.488 There is little doubt that in form it resembles the Pænula, and it may be such a Pænula as in the fifth century (p. 197, No. 22) was worn even intra Urbem by senators. The ornamental clavi worn, as here, upon a super-vestment, are of very rare occurrence.

The other figure is clad in a Dalmatic.

Both figures are "orantes," in what was in early times the attitude of prayer.

- Pl. V. bis. Roman Dress 489 of the Imperial times.
- 1. A Roman marriage, as generally described, but rather perhaps a betrothal (fponsalia). For the dress of the man, see pp. x, xi. The head-dress of the bride may either be the (Flammeum) bridal veil, or a Masortis, if the ceremony be not a marriage.
- 2. A mode of wearing the *Pallium*, ⁴⁹⁰ common in works of late Greek or Roman art, and reproduced in many of the early frescoes and mosaics in representations of Apostles. Plates XXIX., XXXVIII., XLV.

483 This sculpture is intended to represent the bleffings of peace and plenty restored by the emperor to Italy. FEMINARVM FOE-CVNDITATI GENITORVMQ SPEI CONSVLVIT PVBLICVS PARENS PER VNIVERSAM ITALIAM PVERIS PVELLISQ VLPIIS (?) ALIMENTARIIS INSTITVTIS. See Bellori (Vet. Arc. Aug), by whom the relievi of this arch are fully described and figured. Compare Pliny, Paneg. cap. 26. Adventante congiarii die . . . labor parentibus erat osentare parvulos, impositosque cervicibus adulantia verba blandasque voces edocere.

484 For a full description, see Bellori, Colonna Traiana.

485 Because he is here represented at the moment of his entering Rome, immediately after his victory over Maxentius, Oct. 28, A.D. 312. See Bellori, Vet. Arc. Aug.

486 For the Planeta, see Appendix C, No. 28, sag.

487 See Introduction, p. 1v, sqq.

488 See Appendix C, Nos. 1 to 25; Introduction, p. lx. Jqq.

489 These outlines are from Weiss, K. Abt. ii. fig. 376, 423; K. i. M. fig. 3, 8.

490 This term is here used, as by the Romans under the empire, as the equivalent for the Greek ἰμάστον, a general term for a supervestment, as distinct from the χιτών.

- 3. The Toga, with a sketch showing its supposed form and proportion when opened out.
- 4. The Pænula, with its hood attached. An outline appended, showing its cucullus (or "hood") as worn upon the head.
 - 5. The tunica talaris (p. viii, and note A, p. ix) manicata.
- Pl. VI. Greek Dress. From Montsaucon, A. E. tom. iii. Pl. I. The smaller groups are from the Parthenon, and of the time of Pericles. The larger sigures (wearing iμάτιον and χιτών) are of the Roman Period. See Boissard, Pl. 51, 123.
- Pl. VI. bis and VII. Roman and Greek Sacerdotal Costume. The figures here given (from Montsaucon and Boissard) will serve to show the conventional modes of designating official priesthood in classical art. See p. xxxix, fqq.
- Pl. VIII. and IX. Dress of Jewish Priesthood. These Plates, which are reproductions of those given by Dr. Bock ⁴⁹¹ (L. G. vol. i. Pl. III., IV.), are probably near approaches to those of actual Levitical priesthood. Compare the accounts of Josephus (p. 2 to 7), and of St. Jerome (p. 10 to 19). But the mitre of the Levitical priest was probably very different from that here represented. Braunius himself, whom Dr. Bock here follows, speaks with great distinct upon this point, and expresses his opinion that if we could determine what was the pileolum assigned to Ulysses ⁴⁹² in works of ancient art, this would determine the real form of the Levitical cap. Such a cap is in point of fact seen in several works of art still existing, ⁴⁹³ and is what we should call a "skull-cap," of the shape of the head, and "like a sphere divided in twain," as St. Jerome described it. Such a cap as that attributed to the high-priest in Pl. IX., was probably common to both orders, the difference consisting only in the insignia (pp. 6 and 19), proper to the high-priest, the additional overing, coloris byacinthini, and the lamina aurea.
- Pl. X. The Holy Family. From the chromolithograph of De Rossi [I. S. D. V.] This fresco, in its original place in the cemetery of S. Priscilla, occupies, strange to say, a wholly subordinate position amongst a number of unimportant figures. It is probably the oldest picture of the subject now extant. [For a very early Eastern representation, see Texier and Pullan, B. A. Pl. V.] The Star of Bethlehem is seen above. And De Rossi very ingeniously (but somewhat fancifully) suggests, that the standing sigure is not that of St. Joseph, but the embodiment of the Jewish prophet of the older

⁴⁹¹ Dr. Bock's authority is Braunius De Hab. Sac. Hebræorum, a very learned writer, but one who has followed Maimonides, and other late Jewish authorities, upon some points in which they differ from Josephus and St. Jerome.

⁴⁹² Pileolum quale pictum in Ulysse (al. Ulysseo) conspicimus, quasi sphæra media sit divisa. St. Jerome, ad Fabiol. quoted at p. 14.

⁴⁹³ See, for example, Gell's *Pompeii*, Pl. XV., vol. ii.

covenant, pointing to that star as the symbol of the fulfilment, in the Nativity, of the great subject of Old Testament prophecy. A comparison of this with Plates XXXVIII., XL., XLV., and XLVI., will show at a glance the difference of belief at Rome in the third or fourth century (from which, if not from an earlier time, this first representation dates), and in the ninth, and eleventh, and twelfth, to which those later pictures belong.

- Pl. XI. Our Lord bleffing a young child. From the Cemetery of SS. Marcellinus and Peter. Aringhi, R. S. tom. ii. p. 71. For the virga in the hand of our Lord, see p. xl.
- Pl. XII. Our Lord as the giver of the Divine Word. Cemetery of St. Aringhi, R. S. tom. ii. p. 213. On either fide are two Apostles, who, as well as our Lord, have the nimbus, indicating a fomewhat late date for this picture. The two capfa, on either fide, filled with volumina, are intended (almost without doubt) as representations of the Old and New Testament respectively. The open codex in the hand of our Lord shows the later form of Book.494
- Pl. XIII. Our Lord as the Good Shepherd. [Aringhi, R. S. tom. ii. p. III.] From a drawing made for me by a valued friend, and most accomplished artist, the late Mrs. C. Newton.

For the type of dress represented, see pp. viii and ix.

- Pl. XIV. Our Lord with Six Apostles. From the Cemetery of St. Agnes at Rome. Aringhi, R. S. tom. ii. p. 195. On the dress here attributed to our Lord and to the Apostles, and with very slight variations perpetuated in much later monuments, see Introduction, Chaps. IV. and V.
- Pl. XV. Our Lord with the Twelve Apostles. From the Cemetery of S. Callixtus at Rome. Aringhi, R. S. tom. i. p. 529.
- Pl. XVI. A Passover Celebration. The lamb (as I suppose it to be) dreffed whole, which is upon the table, the cup, and the youth, dreffed, not as a flave, but as a fon of the house (compare Exod. xii. 26), all indicate such an interpretation as is implied by the title I have given to this picture. Aringhus (R. S. ii. p. 119) regards it as an Agape Funeralis.
- Pl. XVII. The Ordination of a Deacon. From the Cemetery of St. Hermes. Aringhi, R. S. ii. p. 329. Anastasius states (D. V. P. in Pelagio II.) that Pope Pelagius II. "made" (fecit) this cemetery, and held ordinations there. The style of a mosaic (Pl. XXIX.), which Pelagius constructed elsewhere, confirms the probability of the conjecture, that the fresco reproduced in this plate dates from his time. It may probably be regarded as an ideal

fact that in this picture our Lord is distin- in Pl. IV.

⁴⁹⁴ In accordance with this fomewhat late | guished from the two Apostles by an Orarium, date, probably the fifth century, is the curious | corresponding in arrangement to those shown

representation of ordination, as proceeding ultimately from our Lord. If so, the two figures on either side will represent St. Peter and St. Paul, as the joint sounders, under Christ, of the Church at Rome.

Pl. XVIII. PWMANOY TPECBEYTOY (probably the Presbyter Romanus, martyred Nov. 17, A.D. 303) and EYKAPIIWNOC CTPA-TIWTOY St. Eucarpion, foldier and martyr in the Reign of Diocletian. This and the three plates which follow are from chromolithographs published by Texier and Pullan (" from careful drawings coloured on the fpot") in their "Byzantine Architecture." The mosaics represented decorate the vault of the Church of St. George at Theffalonica, and are among the very few early Greek mosaics which escaped destruction either from the Iconoclasts, or at the hands of the Turks. The learned authors of the work above mentioned give reasons for their belief, that this church was built by Constantine himself during his first sojourn at Thessalonica. The dress seen in all these plates is not the dress of holy ministration (which would have been white), but the dress of solemn ceremonial, such as could appropriately be attributed, as here it is, to laymen, as well as to bishops and priests.495 For details concerning this, fee Introduction, Chapters II., III., IV., and for the question of colour, Appendix A.

Pl. XIX. KOCMOY IATPOY and AAMIANOY IATPOY SS. Cosmas and Damianus, natives of Arabia. They practised Medicine at Ægæ in Cilicia, A.D. 283.

"They traversed the country curing diseases, and demanded no other recompenses from those whom they cured than that they should embrace the Christian saith. But the partisans of idolatry, believing that they worked by magic, denounced them to the Emperor (Carinus). When arrested they were ordered to deny Christ; upon their refusal they were about to be conducted to execution, when, through divine inspiration, the emperor was convinced of his error by means of a cure effected by these two Christians. The emperor and all his servants thenceforth believed in Christ; but the honours rendered to the two physicians excited the jealousy of the courtiers, and one day, when Damian and Cosmas were gathering plants upon a mountain, they were surprised and put to death." Byz. Archit. p. 141.

Pl. XX. \$\philnnoy \in \text{ninnoy Enick and \$\text{\text{\text{EPINOY CTPAT}}} i.e. Philip, Bishop of Heraclea; Therinus, foldier and martyr.

"Philip was Bishop of the town of Heraclea, in the fourth century.

. . . Bassus, being Governor of Thrace, sent the procurator Aristomachus, to close the church and seize the treasure. Philip still persisted in performing services under the portico, and in exhorting Christians to remain steadsast in the faith: for this he was sent to the stake. . . " Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ Slight variations may, however, be | bishop (Pl. XX.) and a presbyter (Pl. XVIII.), noticed as between the dress attributed to a compared with that of the laymen.

Of Therinus nothing is known with certainty, fave what the title of "foldier," here given him, indicates. His position relatively to St. Philip makes it probable that he was of the same province (Macedonia) and probably an officer, or foldier, of the Macedonian Legion.

Pl. XXI. ONHCIOOPOY CTPATC and TIOPOOIPIOY.

"Onefiphorus and Porphyrius fuffered martyrdom on the fame day. Onefiphorus was a native of Iconium, and a relative of the Empress Tryphæne. He lived at Iconium, and having received there the Apostle Paul, he was instructed by him, and baptized with his whole household. Having become a Christian he quitted Iconium and went to dwell at Paros, where he preached the Christian doctrine; but having been seized by the order of the Archon, at the same time as his servant Porphyrius, he was tortured and afterwards put to death by being tied to the tail of a spirited horse, and dragged over a stony road. Porphyrius suffered the same torture, and died with his master." Texier and Pullan, B. A. p. 140.

Pl. XXII. Diptych of Boethius, Conful of the West, A.D. 510. For the history of the diptych, and a statement of the various questions suggested by it, see Gori. Thes. Diptych, tom. i. p. 137, sqq. A comparison of this with Pl. XXIII. will show the identity (with very slight modifications only) of official costume in New and Old Rome, in the fixth century, and will indicate the probable source of the Omophorion, worn (as matter of privilege) by Patriarchs and Metropolitans in the East, and, out of usage rather than of theoretical right, by almost all bishops.

Pl. XXIII. Diptych of Clementinus, Conful of the East, A.D. 513. For a description of this diptych, see M. D. Wyatt, Notices of Sculpture in Ivory, p. 6; Gori, Thes. Dipt. i. p. 229, sqq. This, and the following Plate, are photographed, by permission, from the facsimile, in sictile ivory, published by the Arundel Society.

Pl. XXIV. Diptych of St. Gregory the Great, in the Cossume, and with the Insignia, 496 of a Consul. This singular monument, assigned by antiquaries to the year 700, or thereabouts, now forms the cover of an antiphonary, presented by St. Gregory to Theodolinda, Queen of the Lombards. It is preserved in the Treasury of the Cathedral at Monza. 497 The received opinion among the older antiquaries was, that this was originally a consular diptych, converted into a representation of St. Gregory. Fuller information, however, has led the most eminent modern antiquaries to regard this as an original work. The inscription above the bishop's head is thus worded: GREGORIUS PRÆZVL MERITIS ET NOMINE DIGNV VNDE GENVS DVCIT MERITVM CONSCENDIT HONOREM.

Mappula, or Maniple.

⁴⁹⁶ The Mappa in the r. h. of a conful (thrown into the arena as a fignal for the games to commence), as in Plates XXII., and XXIII., may here perhaps be interpreted as a

⁴⁹⁷ Photographed, by permiffion, for this work, from the factimile of the Arundel Society.

Pl. XXV. Picture of St. Gregory the Great, of his Father Gordianus, and his Mother Sylvia. This picture corresponds with the description 498 given of the original by Joannes Diaconus, in the tenth century. Roman antiquaries constantly refer to it as authentic; and Cardinal Baronius, who had opportunities of knowing its history, and Papebrochius (AA. SS. Maius Propyl. p. 177) publish it as such. Reference is made to a tabula ari incisa used by Baronius, but the actual drawings (if any), of older date, from which this derived, are not specified.

Pl. XXVI. The Ascension. Facsimile of an illustration in a Syriac MS. of the Gospels, written A.D. 586, at Zagba, in Mesopotamia, and acquired for the Library of the Medici, at Florence, A.D. 1497. The picture represents the Ascension. The dresses of the Apostles correspond exactly with those assigned to them in early Roman frescoes and mosaic pictures. It is noticeable that in this picture we have already traces, slight in themselves, of a tendency to exalt the blessed Virgin to a position beyond that assigned to her in Holy Scripture, or in the earlier monuments of Christian antiquity. She here occupies the central place amid the Apostles, as present at the Ascension, an event with which, in the narrative of Scripture, she is not in any way connected. And to her, as to our Lord and to the angels, the nimbus is assigned, though the Twelve have it not. In these respects this picture forms a connecting link, in the thought implied, as in the time from which it dates, between Pl. X., and XXXVIII. [From Seroux d'Agincourt, Histoire, &c., vol. v. Pl. XXVII.]

Pl. XXVII. Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, and Ammonius of Alexandria. [From the same MS. as No. XXVI.] After Asseman. Bib. Med. Pl. III.

Pl. XXVIII. The Emperor Justinian, and Archbishop Maximianus, at the Consecration of the Church of S. Vitaiis, at Ravenna. From a mosaic dating, probably, from the close of the fixth century. The Archbishop wears a Dalmatic under a Planeta. 499 Over the Planeta is a Pallium of the older 480 form and arrangement, and in his hand a jewelled cross. The two personages

in his own time (tenth century) the form and arrangement of the pallium had undergone a change. Compare cap. 80 of the same book, whence it appears that the pallium was in St. Gregory's time of linen and nullis accubiis (i.e. acubus 322) perforatum.

459 As to the colour of this Planeta it is difficult to speak with authority. Ciampini speaks of it as aurea. Hefner-Altenek (Pl. XCI) in his coloured drawing represents it as a very dull green, the Dalmatic white, with black stripes; and Gally Knight (E. A. Pl. X.) both figures and describes the whole dress as white. All the coloured drawings that I have seen represent the lora (or clavi) as black.

⁴⁹⁸ Joan. Diac. D. G. P. lib. iv. cap. 83. 84. In this description, note particularly the following concerning St. Gregory's drefs: "Planeta fuper Dalmaticam castanea: evangelium in finistra, modus crucis in dextra: pallio mediorici, a dextro videlicet humero fub pectore super stomachum circulatim deducto: deinde fursum per sinistrum humerum veniens propria rectitudine non per medium corporis fed ex latere pendet: circa verticem vero tabulæ" (the "fquare nimbus," fo called) " fimilitudinem, quod viventis infigne est, præferens, non coronam " (the "nimbus"). The Pallium described is evidently such as that ascribed to Leo III. in the drawing at p. lii. The language of John the deacon implies that

on his left (probably archdeacon and deacon) wear Dalmatics of the older form, with black *clavi* (not clearly shown in this Plate), and corresponding stripes at the edge of the sleeve. [After Gally Knight, E. A. Pl. X]

Pl. XXIX. A mosaic, dating from the close of the Sixth Century, from the Church of S. Laurentius, at Rome. The figures represented are our Lord, S. PETRVS and S. PAVLVS, S. LAVRENTIVS and S. STEPHANVS, S. YPPOLIT (St. Hippolytus) and PELAGIVS EPISC. (Bishop of Rome from 578 to 590). Pelagius is without the nimbus affigned to the other fix personages, and wears the dress traditionally attributed to our Lord and the Apostles. [From a drawing in Her Majesty's Collection.] The figure of Pelagius has been in great part destroyed by accident, and is here represented as restored by Roman antiquaries. In one particular, 500 not of importance to this inquiry, the arrangement of the two figures on the spectator's left is probably incorrect.

Pl. XXX. SCS CORNELIVS PP. (Bishop of Rome A.D. 251-252), and SCS CIPRIANVS (Bishop of Carthage A.D. 248-258). [From a fresco lately discovered by Chevalier De Ross, and dating 501 (probably) from the close of the eighth century.]

Pl. XXXI. Fresco of the same date ⁵⁰¹ as the above, in which are represented S. XVSTVS [Bishop of Rome from A.D. 257 to A.D. 259], and a contemporary Bishop [SCS. O. perhaps St. Optatus] of some unknown see.

Pl. XXXII. The TRICLINIVM LATERANVM.⁵⁰² A portion of the Banquet-room of the Lateran Palace, built and decorated with mosaics by Leo III., at the beginning of the ninth century.

Pl. XXXIII. Two groups from the Mosaics of the TRICLINIUM LATERANUM.⁵⁰² In the one our Lord bestows a Pallium (symbol of ecclefiastical authority), upon St. Sylvester, and a Vexillum (symbol of imperial rule) upon CONSTANTINVS REX. In the other, St. Peter gives a Pallium to D. N. SCTISSIMVS LEO PP. (Dominus noster Sanctissimus Leo Papa); and a Vexillum to CAROLVS REX (Charlemagne). By these two groups is symbolised the Divine origin of both spiritual and temporal power; and the alliance, and partition of the two, in the person of the Pope and the Emperor. A more exact representation of this Plate, photographed

⁵⁰⁰ According to one reftoration the model of the church is held in the hands of Pope Pelagius, fo as to defignate him as the reftorer of the church.

De Rossi, R. S. p. 298 to 304. He pronounces them to be "certainly not older" than the feventh century, and mentions various reasons for attributing them to the ponti-

ficate of Leo III.

⁵⁰² For full details concerning this monument fee Alemannus, *De Parietinis Lateranis*, from which the above drawings are taken. The first is altogether, and the second in great part, a restoration, authority for which was found in drawings preserved in the Vatican, after the original itself (even as restored by Leo IV.) had been in great part destroyed.

from a drawing in Her Majesty's collection, will be found at p. lii. See description of woodcuts below.

- Pl. XXXIV. to XXXVI.⁵⁰³ A feries of illustrations from the Liber Pontificalis of Landolfus, a MS. of the ninth century, in the Library of S. Minerva, at Rome. These represent the Costume and Insignia, and the modes of Ordination, regarded as proper to priests, deacons, sub-deacons, exorcists, and the other minor orders, at the period in question.
 - Pl. XXXIV. Ordination of Ostiarii (doorkeepers) and of Lectores (readers).
- 1. The Bishop delivers to the Doorkeepers the keys of the Church. Tradendo eis claves ecclesiae Dei.
- 2. The Ostiarii prostrate themselves before the Bishop to receive his blessing. Prosternuntur ante pontificem.
 - 3. Ordination of Readers. Tradidit eis episcopus codicem.
- 4. The Bishop gives his blessing to the Readers. Deinde prostratis in terram (benedicit).
 - Pl. XXXV. Ordination of Exorcifts, Acolytes, Sub-deacons, and Deacons.
- 5. The Bishop gives a book to the Exorcists. Exorcistis tradit episcopus libellum.
- 6. The Bishop hands a candlestick to the Acolyte. Acolitis tradit episcopus cerostatam.
- 7. The Sub-deacons receive the Paten and the Chalice. Subdiaconi patenam et calicem.
- 8. The Bishop lays the Orarium (Stole) on the left shoulder of the Deacon. Ponens oraria super bumeros.
 - Pl. XXXVI. Ordination of Deacons and Priests.
- 9. The Bishop bestows Benediction on the Deacons. Dum in terram prostrati fuerint.
- 10. Ordination of Priests. The Bishop places the Orarium (Stole) about their necks. Oraria super colla eorum.
- II. They bow the head to receive imposition of hands, and episcopal Benediction. Super quos inclinatis capitibus (benedicit).
- 12. The Bishop anoints their right hands, tracing thereon the sign of the Cross. Cum pollice dexteræ faciens crucem.

⁵⁰³ From the outlines published by Seroux d'Agincourt. Facsimiles of the original drawings are in the author's possession.

Pl. XXXVII. A Bishop giving the Chrism to a newly baptized Infant. From a Latin MS. of the ninth century, in the Library of the S. Minerva, at Rome. 504

Pl. XXXVIII. The Virgin Mother and Holy Child. The former wears a royal diadem, and a dress of purple and gold, with scarlet shoes (infignia of royalty). On either side are, r. S. IACOBVS and S. IOANNES; I. S. PETRVS and S. ANDREAS. This mosaic dates from circ. 848 A.D. [Photographed from a drawing in Her Majesty's Collection.]

See above on Plates X. and XXVI.

Pl. XXXIX. Pope Nicholas I. [sed. A.D. 858-867] and the Emperor Lewis II. [regn. A.D. 843-876.] From the Chartularium Prumiense, a MS.505 partly of the ninth century, partly of later date, in the Stadtbibliotek, at Treves. The Cap here worn by the Pope is not a Mitra, but a Camelaucium, so called. Compare Florovantes, Ant. Pontif. Rom. Den. p. 37. He is speaking of a coin of Hadrianus I. Figura in medio Pontificali habitu et bireto, quod Camelaucium ab Anastasio in Constantino, bodie vero Camaurum dicitur. The first change of head-dress on the coins is early in the tenth century. Describing a coin of Sergius III. (sed. 904-911), Flor. fays, p. 63, Sergium III. pontificia veste indutum, et mitra ornatum, bic exhibet nummus; at in superioribus nummis Pontificum capita camelaucio tantum tecta visuntur: quæ res mire favet eorum sententiæ qui Pontifices serius mitram gestasse arbitrantur. These facts bear out the opinion already expressed (note 265, p. 129), that the Mitra had been introduced at Rome before the time (close of eleventh century) of St. Ivo's writing. Compare Appendix F, No. 12. But they throw back the Mitra at Rome itself to a somewhat earlier date than most modern antiquaries have assigned to it. [The book above quoted is of great rarity. But these coins are figured in another work, the Memoria di Domenico Promis. Monete dei Rom. Pontef. Torino, 1858. See further on Pl. XLVII.

Pl. XL. A fresco from the hypogene Church of S. Clemente, at Rome (lately discovered). It presents a picture of the Assumption, and contains a representation of Leo IV., and S. Vitus. This picture, when first discovered, was supposed, by such of the Roman clergy as were not antiquaries, to prove the recognition of the doctrine of the Assumption as early as the second or third centuries. They forgot that, though the walls on which these frescoes are painted are undoubtedly very ancient, it by no means follows that the paintings upon them are of the same date. The square nimbus (quod viventis insigne est, Joan. Diac. note 498) on the head of Leo IV., and the position assigned him in the pisture, indicate that he was the giver of this fresco. SANCTISSIMVS DOM. LEO QRT. PP. ROM. may be seen inscribed about his head. The signature QVOD HÆC PRÆ CVNCTIS FVLGET PICTVRA COLORE COMPONERE HANC STVDVIT PRESBYTER ECCE LEO shows that he gave the picture before he became Pope, and that the smaller inscrip-

⁵⁰⁴ Photographed from a drawing in Her | 505 This Plate is from Ramboux (Beiträge Majesty's collection.

tion was added somewhat later, probably soon after his death. A.D. 855. [On the title Papa Romanus, derived from the earlier times of the Church, when there were other "Papa" even in the West, beside the Bishop of Rome, see De Rossi, R. S. p. 303, and Dustresne, in voc.]

Pl. XLI. The Emperor Constantine VI. presiding at the Seventh General Council (fo called), held at Nicæa, A.D. 787. From a Greek MS. of the tenth century, the Menologium Græcorum, &c., in the Vatican Library. This Plate is from the outline published by Seroux d'Agincourt. An accurate copy of the original is in the author's possession. The Sticharia of the bishops, as well as their Phænolia, are coloured. The Phænolion of the bishop on the emperor's left (Tarafius, Patriarch of Constantinople), is lavender purple; the others (apparently) black and gold. Two of the patriarchs here represented, though supposed to be present (by their deputies), had not even heard of the Council, the occupation of the country by the Saracens preventing communication. The proftrate figure represents the "defeated party," in this case the Iconoclasts. The determinations of this Council were fully fanctioned by the Pope (Hadrian I.), as before by his legates. But Charlemagne fummoned another Council of three hundred bishops, at Frankfort, A.D. 794, at which the authority of this Nicene Council (claiming to be the Seventh General Council) was rejected, and its decrees reversed. [An entirely different account is given by most of the Roman authorities. For the above, and the evidence on which it rests, see Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 652.]

Pl. XLII. Egbertus, Archbishop of Treves (fed. 975 to 993), receives a book offered to him by Keraldus Augiensis and another Benedictine Monk. This picture forms the title-page of an Evangeliarium, written at the close of the tenth century. [From the drawing of Ramboux.]

Pl. XLIII. St. Clement at the Altar. The miraculous blinding of Sisinnius. [The same subject in one of the frescoes of the Church of St. Mark, at Venice. Kreutz, Mos. Sec. &c., tav. xxiii.] The donors of this fresco, Beno de Rapiza, and Maria his wife, are represented de more at the left of the picture; and of small size (compare Pl. XLI.) in token of humility. There is strong internal evidence, to an antiquarian eye, of the late date of this picture. And I hear that diplomatic evidence, lately discovered at Rome, shows that Beno de Rapiza and his wife lived in the eleventh century.

Pl. XLIV. St. Gregory the Great and St. Dunstan. From a MS. of the eleventh century, in the British Museum. St. Gregory wears a Mitre of the earliest form, the tæniæ or fasciæ of which hang down on either side, so as to appear like large earrings. The archbishop (who also wears a Mitre) is kneeling, with two monks, at St. Gregory's feet, and embracing them. The dove whispering, as it were, into the ear, is an embiem of divine inspiration. For further details, see the great work of Professor Westwood (Miniatures and Ornaments, &c., p. 126) to which I owe this more correct description of the picture.

Pl. XLV. The Bleffed Virgin, as the Queen of Heaven, feated on the fame throne with our Lord. In her hand a fcroll (painted black in the

drawing at Windsor, from which this is photographed) on which in the original are inscribed the words Læva ejus sub capite meo (Cant. ii. 6; viii. 3). The figures on either side are (on the spectator's left) INNOCENTIVS PP., (Innocent II. sed. A.D. 1130-1143, the donor of this mosaic), LAVRENTIVS (St. Laurence carrying a cross, as in Pl. XXIX.) CORNELIVS PP. On the r. PETRVS, CALIXTVS PP. IVLIVS PP. and CALEPODIVS PRESBYTER. [From a drawing in Her Majesty's collection, as is Pl. XLVI. which follows.]

Pl. XLVI. PRÆSIDET ÆTHEREIS PIA VIRGO MARIA CHO-REIS. [A mosaic 506 in the apse of the Oratory of St. Nicolaus, at Rome, commenced by Calixtus II., and completed 507 by Anastasius II.] The infcription on this mosaic is too characteristic of the times to be omitted:

SVSTVLIT HOC PRIMO TEMPLVM CALLIXTVS AB IMO VIR CLARVS LATE GALLORVM NOBILITATE.
VERVM ANASTASIVS PAPATVS CVLMINE QVARTVS HOC OPVS ORNAVIT VARIISQVE MODIS DECORAVIT.

Pl. XLVII. Pope Innocent II. giving Benediction to Abbot Adalbero. From an interpolated copy of the Chartularium Prumiense, now in the Stadt-Bibliothetek, at Treves. For the History of the MS., see Ramboux. The greater part of it dates from 1222 A.D. But there have been additions to it, of which this picture must be one. For the triple crown, here shown, points to the fourteenth century. According to Roman antiquaries of the highest repute, the double crown (significant of spiritual and temporal power combined) was introduced by Bonisace VIII. A.D. 1299-1303, (Alemannus, De P. L. cap. 13, p. 129; and Florovantes, Ant. Pont. Rom. Den. p. 57); and the triple crown by Urbanus V. (A.D. 1362-1370). Compare AA. SS. Maius. Propyl. p. 419.

Pl. XLVIII. From a MS. written by Matthew Paris (circ. 1250) in the British Museum. Cotton MSS., Nero D. I.

a. Pope Adrian I. receives a letter from Offa II., King of Mercia.

β. The Pope's fanction having been obtained, the archiepiscopal see is transferred from Canterbury, in the "Kingdom of Kent," to Lichsfield, in the "Kingdom of Mercia." Eadulfus is consecrated the first Archbishop of Lichsfield. 508

This transaction here recorded had an important influence on the subsequent history of the English Church in its relation to the Roman See. Cf. Hook, Lives of the Archbishops, vol. i. p. 243, sqq.

506 Compare AA. SS. Maius Propyl. p. 320, where this mosaic is figured and deferibed; and Muratori, R. I. S. tom. ii. p. 417.

507 In this I follow Papebrochius (AA. SS. ubi fupra), who further expresses his belief, that the principal figure in this group was intended by Calixtus for our Lord, but that this was considerably altered by Anastasius, and changed into the figure of the Virgin here exhibited. A fimilar change has been made in a mosaic of the fifth century. The original state of this is delineated by

Ciampini, M. V. i. p. 200, the Saviour (with the nimbus) being feated on a throne, whilst the Virgin mother stood near. "As this group is now before us, the erect figure is left out; the seated one is converted into that of Mary, with a halo round the head, although in the original even such attribute (alike given to the Saviour and to all the angels introduced) is not affigned to her." Hemans History, &c., p. 207. With what he says of the nimbus, compare what is said above on Pl. XXVI.

508 The crowns of the two principal perfonages in this picture have been deliberately

Pl. XLIX. [From the fame MS.]

a. King Offa gives investiture to Willegoda, first Abbot of St. Albans.

B. The King and the Abbot kneel on either fide of the altar, on which is

laid the charter bestowed by the king.

- Pl. L. The Council of Constance. "Erle Richard (of Warwick), and Robert Halain, Bishop of Salisbury, with other worshipful persones, ambassiatours of king Henry the Fifth to the general counsell of Constance, are honourably and honestly received by the pope and the clergy, by the Emperor Sygesmonde and the temporalte." [From a MS. of the sisteenth century. Cotton MSS. Julius, E iv.] The inscription is of later date than the MS.
- Pl. LI. "Howe kyng Henry the VIth, beyng in his tender age, was crowned kyng of Englond at Westminstre with great solempnytie." [From same MS. as Pl. 6.]

The bishops all wear copes.

Pl. LII. The Coronation of the Emperor Sigismund. a. He is crowned by Pope Eugenius IV., β . The solemn cavalcade of the Pope and the Emperor, γ . The governor of the Castle of St. Angelo awaits their approach.

Pl. LIII. to LV. Bassi Relievi commemorative of the Council of Florence, A.D. 1440.

Pl. LIII. The Emperor Palæologus, accompanied by the Patriarch of Constantinople, and attended by the officers of his household, a. Embarks at Constantinople, \(\beta \). Crosses the Adriatic in the Venetian Galleys, \(\gamma \). Lands at Venice, \(\delta \). Is publicly received by Pope Eugenius IV., to whom he makes submission. \[\int This last Scene is wholly imaginary, nothing of the kind having really occurred.\]

Pl. LIV. Pope Eugenius IV. and the Emperor Palæologus at the Council of Florence, July 6, A.D. 1440. The Cardinal Presbyter, Julianus Cæsarinus, and other great Roman officials, are to the right of the Pope, Bessarion (Archbishop of Nicæa) and others of the Greeks on the Emperor's right. The Emperor, &. Leaves Florence in State, attended by his Court; and \(\beta \). Embarks at Venice for Constantinople. [The sigure standing on the left of the Emperor represents the Patriarch of Constantinople, who died before the Council separated]

Pl. LV. Envoys from Æthiopia and from other Eastern Churches, deputed (A.D. 1441) to attend the Council of Florence, and make submission to the Pope. They are received by Eugenius IV., who hands to Abbot Andreas, their spokesman, the definitions agreed to by the Council.

The four Relievi above described have been copied at Rome for the illustration of this work. They were executed by Antonio Philarete, of

defaced, and redrawn in ink, within a comparatively recent period. They are reftored here to their original flate by comparison with the engravings of Strutt, M. and C. vol. ii. and with other drawings in the same MS. Of three crowns figured above (copied from later drawings in this MS), two (No. 2 and 3) are affigned to the Emperor, the third (No. 1) to the Empress.

Florence, at the command of Eugenius IV., and now form part of the great Gates of St. Peter's. In some important particulars they represent events not as they really did occur, but as according to Roman theory they ought to have occurred. For further particulars concerning them, see the Basilica Vaticana, of Valentini, Pl. XXII., &c. And for the true history of this Council, see Ffoulkes, Divisions of Christendom, part ii. p. 332, 199.

Pl. LVI. 1. The Epitrachelion 348 of Bishop Nikita, + 1167 A.D. 2 and 3. The ἐπιμανίκια 350 of the same Bishop. 4. The ἀμοφόριον 355 of Archbishop Moses, + 1329 A.D.

Pl. LVII. A leathern breaftplate ⁵⁰⁹ ("Rational") and girdle, found in a coffin in the Church of the Passion at Moscow. [This cannot be older than the tenth century, when Christianity was sirst introduced into Russia. From what later time it dates I have not the means of knowing. This is a wholly exceptional instance in the Greek Church of a direct imitation of the Jewish "Rational." But King (Greek Church, p. 39) states, that in Russia, two jewelled ornaments are worn upon the breast by Metropolitans, which "are imagined to be taken from the Urim and Thummim, on Aaron's breastplate." For a similar (local) usage in the West, in the twelfth century, see notes 256 and 263.]

Pl. LVIII. Costume of the Greek Church.

- 1. St. Sampson. He wears a φαινόλιον,³⁵¹ answering to the Latin chasuble, over the Sticharion (p. LXIII. v.), or white tunic. The ends of the Peritrachelion ¹⁴⁴ (answering to the Latin Stole) are seen pendent under the Phænolion.
- 2. St. Methodius. In this Figure the Polystaurion ³⁵³ takes the place of the plain Phænolion: the Genual ⁵¹⁰ is feen pendent (as in the next figure, that of S. Germanus) on the right fide; and on the outfide of the Polystaurion is feen the Omophorion, ³⁵⁵ which corresponds to the Pallium of the Roman Church, but is worn in the East by almost all bishops.
- 3. St. Germanus. The Sticharion, or Alb, is here diffinguished by the $\lambda \acute{e} \varrho \iota \alpha$, 146 or stripes proper to a bishop (Goar, Euchol. p. 110). He wears a Sakkos in place of the ordinary Phænolion, and thus marks 352 his dignity as a Metropolitan. In other respects he wears the same vestments as those last described. [In Russia the Saccos is now worn by all bishops, See King's Greek Church, p. 40.]

Pl. LIX. I. The Patriarch Bekkos, in Walking Dress. He wears on his head the outer and the inner καμηλαύχιον; and in his left hand carries the καπάσιον (also known as κάπελλος), the strings of which (καμίλαβα) are seen pendent below it.

⁵⁰⁹ This and the Plate last described are from the Antiquités de l'Empire de Russie, lately published by the Russian Government. The first volume of this work contains many ecclesiastical monuments of great interest.

⁵¹⁰ Genuale is the rendering given by Latin writers to ἐπιγουάτιου ³⁴⁹ as "hanging down to the knee," a diffinctive ornament outfide the Saccos, ³³² worn by Patriarchs and metropolitan.

The long-sleeved coat, worn as a body-dress, corresponds to the cassick of an English clergyman. The outer garment is the Mandyas, with its three stripes (ποταμοί, see Note 343, p. 168). In his right hand he holds the διανίκιον, or βάβδος. See Note 345, p. 168.

2. St. Macarius. This figure shows the characteristic ministering dress of a Deacon, viz a close-fitting Sticharion (answering to the Alb of the Latin Church) and an Orarion (ἀράριον), or Deacon's Stole, having the word AΓΙΟC, thrice repeated, embroidered upon it. [This and Pl. LIX. are from Goar's Euchologion.]

Pl. LX. Patriarch Nicon (circ. 1650, A.D.) in his Cowl. This Plate is from the same source as Pl. LVI. and LVII. The accompanying woodcut shows the back of the same Cowl.



Pl. LXI. This Plate is given with a view to the readier understanding of the shape, and relative position, of the various vestments and insignia now worn in the Roman Church, and described in Appendix F. The central sigure is from Bock L. G. Band ii. The sigures of the Priest and Deacon from Pugin's Glossary.

Pl. LXIII. Four figures illustrating the variations in the white dress recognised at various times, and in various branches of the Church, as specially appropriate to offices of Holy Ministry. That on the left is the figure of an Apostle from the Roman Catacombs.⁵¹¹ The next of St. James (wearing an Omophorion), from the Church of St. Sophia, at Trebizond, dating from the 14th century,⁵¹² accidentally discovered not long since, by the fall of the plaster with which it had been overlaid by the Turks. The third is from a fresco

⁵¹¹ After Aringhi R. S. tom. ii. p. 213.

⁵¹² Texier and Pullan B.A. Pl. LXV. They attribute the Church (though upon no very

certain data) to the Emperor Alexis III., circ. 1350.

at Florence, a group in which a priest (here represented) is saying the last office beside a dying man. The fourth is a canon of an English Collegiate Chapter, and, as such, has the Scarf (or broad Stole) worn, out of customary usage, by Doctors of Divinity, cathedral dignitaries, and others. This prepared the way for the use of the Stole, which for the last twenty years, or thereabouts, has been very generally adopted in the English Church, presenting nearly the appearance of the black clavi on the Tunic of the Apostle in this Plate, and in others figured in this Volume.

LIST OF WOODCUTS.

P. vi. The Adoration of the Magi. From the Cemetery of SS. Marcellinus and Peter. Aringhi, R. S. tom. ii. p. 117.

P. xv. A figure in the attitude of Prayer (comp. Mark, xi. 25 (ὅταν στήμητε προσευχόμενοι): Matt. vi. 5; Luke, xviii. 11, &c.), wearing a flort Tunic and a supervestment of peculiar shape. From the Cemetery of SS. Marcellinus and Peter. Aringhi, R. S. tom. ii. p. 111.

P. xxvi. Our Lord administering the Bread and the Cup to the Eleven Disciples. From a Syriac MS. of the year 586, A.D. See description of Pl. XXVI.

P. xliii. The Prophet Malachi. From the same MS. as Pl. XXVI. above described. For the "roll of a book" in the hand see p. xl., sqq.

P. lii. [From a Drawing in Her Majesty's Collection.] This represents the actual state of the mosaic nearly two hundred years ago. A comparison with Pl. XXXIII., already described, will be suggestive of the manner in which, as regards minor details, antiquaries vary in their representation of the same objects. The keys in St. Peter's lap, for example, figured by Alemannus, are nowhere to be seen here. And the Pallium of Leo, arranged more Romano by Alemannus, has the older form (preserved by the Greek âpoopiquor), as depicted in the present woodcut. And there are slight variations in the inscription 513 (DN. CAROLVS REX in one; DN. CAROLO REGI in the other).

P. lxxvi. An "Orante" (Female) in Dalmatic, and veil (mafortis). From the same source as the woodcut in p. xv, already described.

P. lxxxiv. Ancient Glass. From the Roman Catacombs. 574 This specimen is figured and described by Garrucci (V. A. tav. xxv. fig. 3), as follows:

A man, and a lady at his left hand, are here figured. They have their hands raised in prayer. Between them is the monogram; and below this a "volumen," or scroll. On the spectator's left is a bishop's throne, or chair of state (una cattedra); above this, another monogram (which he describes);

⁵¹³ BICTORIA is for VICTORIA, according to a variation of very frequent occurrence in Roman inscriptions.

⁵¹⁴ From an engraving kindly lent to me by the prefent possessfor of the specimen, Mr. C. Wilshere.

behind it a mountain coloured green, from which flows a golden stream. On the top of this mountain is a tree, with fruit thereon. There is a superscription DIGNTIAS AMIC.514 a Then after describing the dress, he goes on to say, that this had once been supposed to represent SS. Perpetua and Felicitas. But one of the figures, which, as he fays, is clearly that of a man, he thinks is very like that of S. Laurentius, in tav. xx. 7 (it is difficult to trace the refemblance); and the female figure, he adds, may be St. Agnes. The drefs does nearly resemble that attributed to St. Agnes in other specimens of glass, the fact being that it is the rich costume worn by Roman ladies of high rank at that time. A comparison of tav. xxvi. No. 11 and 12, in the same volume, fuggests what I venture to think is the real explanation of the figures before us. They are man and wife, people of high rank: the "fcroll" between them represents the tabulæ matrimoniales; 5'5 the coin just below the roll, the marriage dowry: the bishop's chair 516 is suggestive of the Church, and more particularly of the Cathedral Church, as we should call it; and the tree with its fruits, probably of the Tree of Life. I have a third explanation to mention, not my own, but that of a gentleman who, at a recent Church Congress, referred to this glass as an undoubted representation of a priest vested in a Chasuble. It is to be regretted that he did not give an explanation of the lady at "the prieft's" fide, or of the DIGNTIAS AMIC of the infcription. For myself I confess to some surprise, that anybody, having the slightest acquaintance with antiquity, should have ventured to assert, without any doubt or hesitation, that "on this glass is depicted a priest, vested in just such a Chasuble as may now be seen in Ritualistic Churches." 57

514a A mistake of the original workmen for DIGNITAS AMIC. The full inscription (for which these words stand representative) is DIGNITAS AMICORVM VIVAS CVM TVIS FELICITER. So in tav. ii. Or as on yet another specimen, DIGNITAS AMICORVM PIE ZESES CVM TVIS OMNIBVS BIBE ET PROPINA. By the phrase Dignitas Amicorum, we may understand either digni amici," or "honoured by all thy friends," ("Orgueil de tes amis." Gar).

515 S. Augustine's Serm. xxxviii de Proverb. c. 31 (apud Garrucci) "Unaquæqueconjux bona . . . tabulas matrimoniales instrumenta emptionis fuæ deputat." Compare Martigny, D. A. C. in voc. "mariage."

516 In the other specimens (figured by Garrucci, as above) in which man and wife are represented, the Church (and through this their Christian faith) is typically suggested by a pillar or column. [So Garrucci, a very learned author, whose work will repay a careful study.]

ful ftudy.]
s17 Dr. Littledale. Report of Wolver-hampton Church Congress (1867), p. 279.
I have reproduced the engraving above described, that my readers may form their own opinion upon the matter.

N.B.—The Plates, above described, as being from Her Majesty's Collection at Windsor, are from Coloured Drawings by Santo Bartoli and others, in which the Mosaic Pictures of the Roman Chnrches, and other objects of antiquarian interest, are depicted as they existed more than 150 years ago. The Collection was originally made for Cardinal Albano (afterwards Clement XI.), and is now the property of Her Majesty. These Drawings bear marks of having been very accurately copied, and contain a number of important details which are not to be found elsewhere.

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- The larger Arabic Numerals refer to the pages of the later portions of this Treatife; and the smaller Arabic Numerals to the corresponding Notes.

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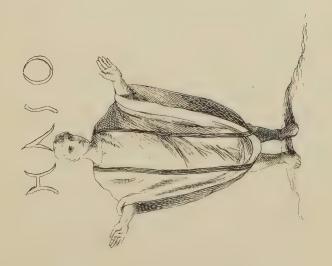
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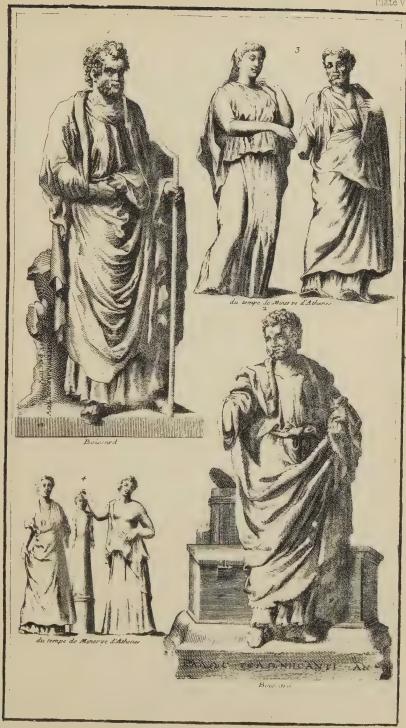






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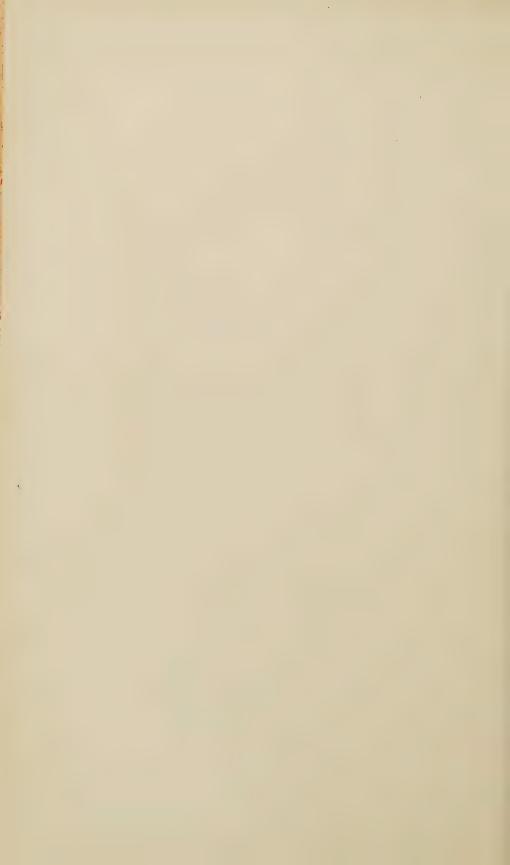
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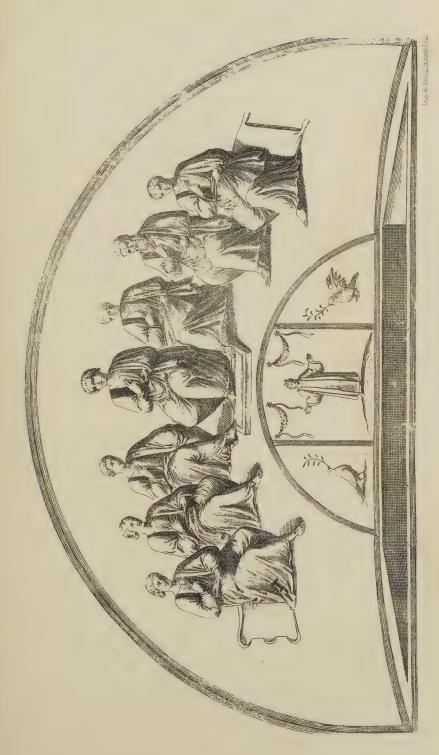
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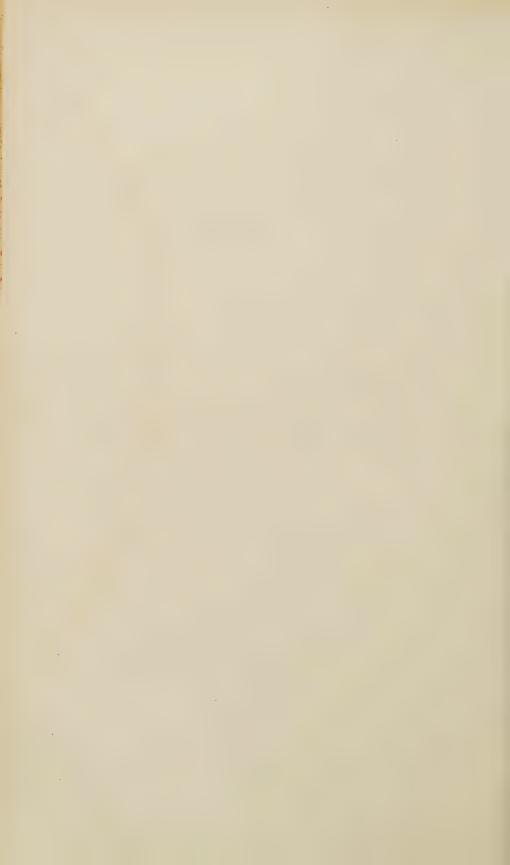


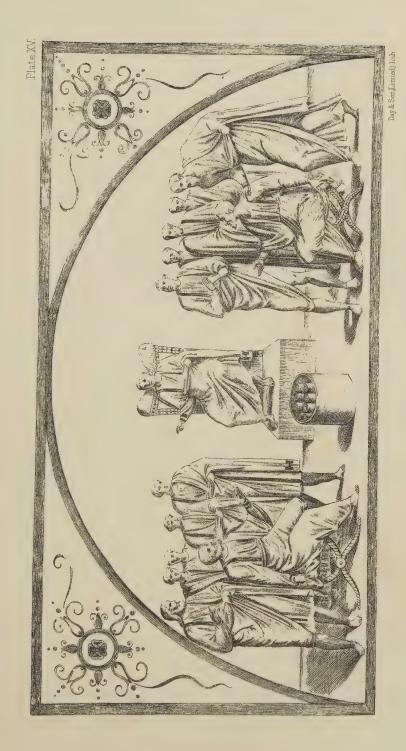


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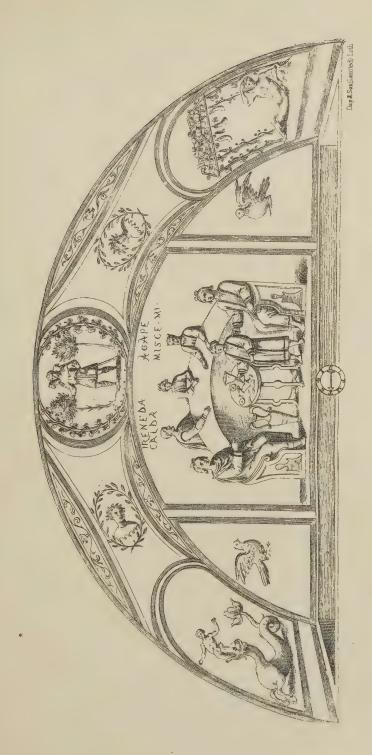












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DIPTYCH OF BOETHIUS CONSUL OF THE WEST AD 510, From Goris Thesaurus Diptychorum





DIPTYCH OF CLEMENTINUS CONSUL OF THE EAST, AD 513





DIPTYCH OF ST GREGORY THE GREAT From the Facsimile Published by the Arundel Society.



IMAGINES AD VIVVM EXPRESSAE

EX AEDICVLA SANCTI ANDREAE PROPE BEATI GREGORII MAGNI ECCLESIAM, NECNON EX VITA EIVSDEM BEATI GREGORII A IOANNE DIACONO LIBIV CAPLXXXIII ETLXXXIV. CONSCRIPTA.



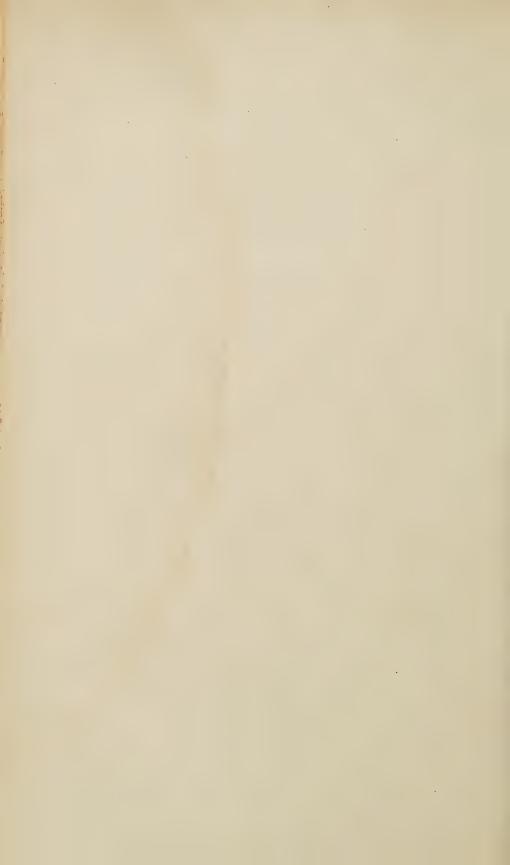
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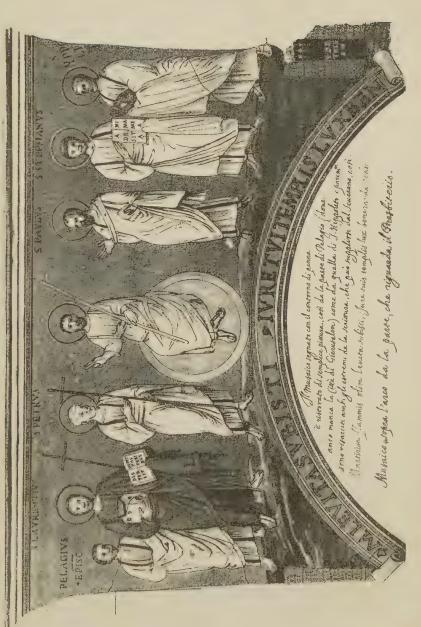


EUSEBIUS AMMONIUS
Bishop of Cœsarea of Alexandria.
From a Syriac M.S. of the Year 586,AD.



THE EMPEROR JUSTINIAN AND ARCHBISHOP MAXIMIANUS,





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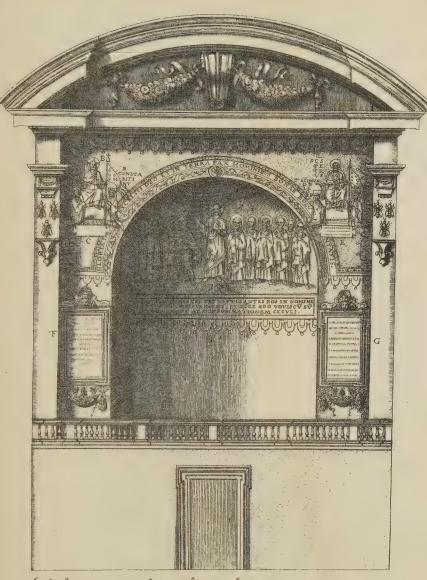




S.C.S. XVS.TUS PAPA ROMANUS AND STS O...:Perhaps OPTATUS.

A Fresco (8th Century) at Rome, from De Rossi's, Roma Solterranea



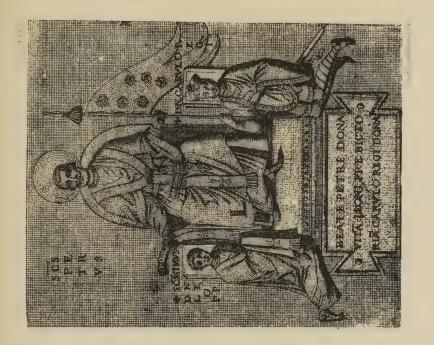


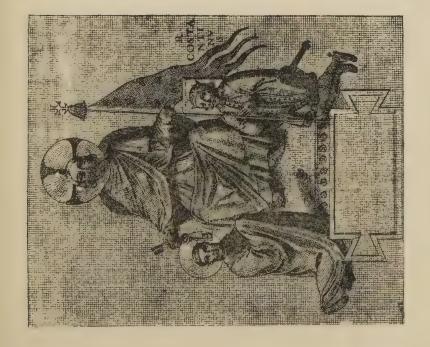
- A. Vultus imaginum suppleti ex alijs eorumdem temporum.
- B Historia renouata ad exemplum ab Antiquarijs olim exceptum cum deflueret.
- C. Tabula nullis notata litteris exceptorum incuria.
- D Nomen Pontificis desideratur .
- E. Inscriptas tabella acclamationes servavit Angelus Massar ellus.
- F. Ædificij descriptio verbis Anastasij Bibliothecarij.
- G. Instaurati operis monumentum.

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Day & Son (Lamited)

FROM THE PONTIFICAL OF LANDULFUS (IX# Century)



Plate XXXV



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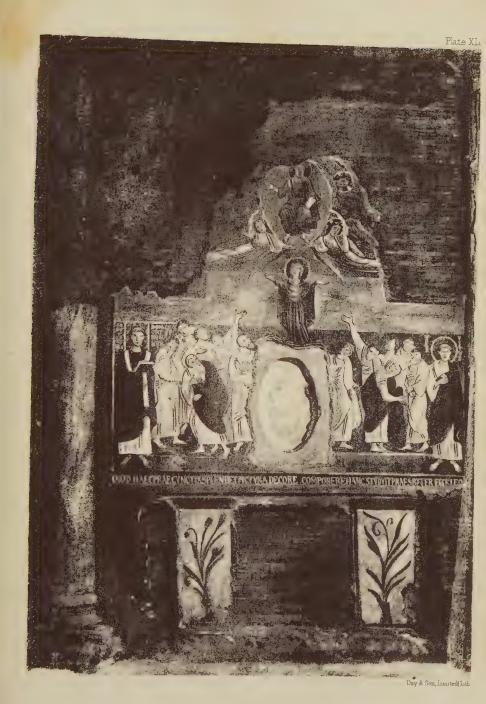




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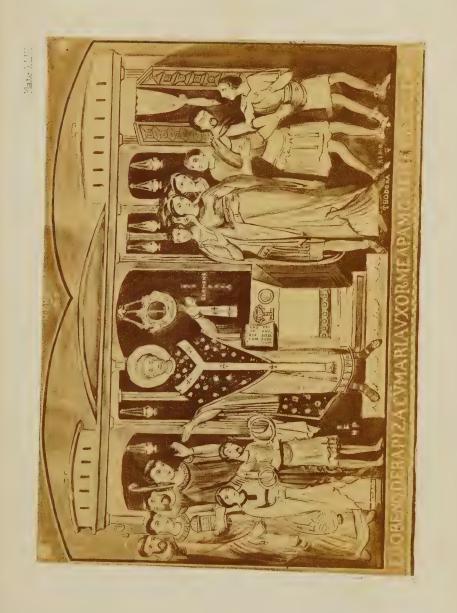




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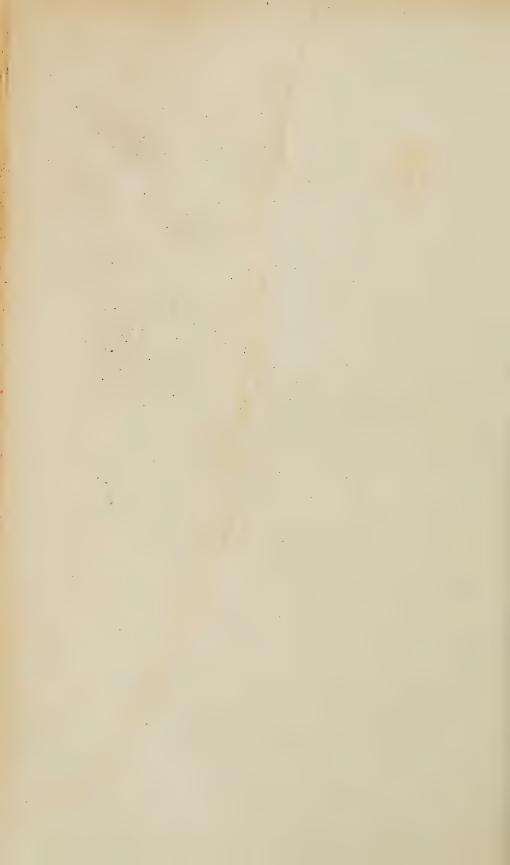






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ORONAIION OF THE EMIFACE SIGICMINE. And Procession to the Castle, of St Angelo.



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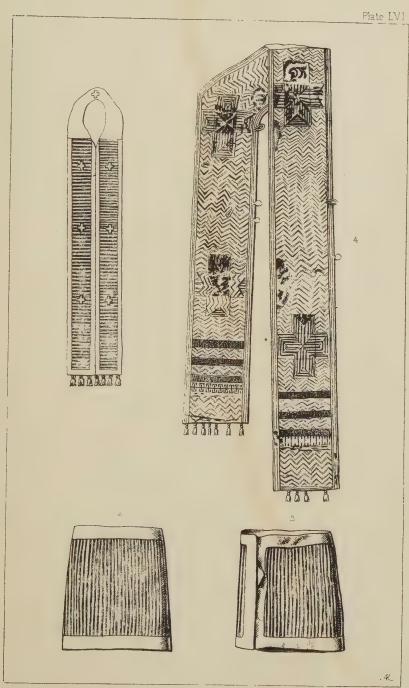
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a Session of the Council. h Departure of the Emperor & Embarcation



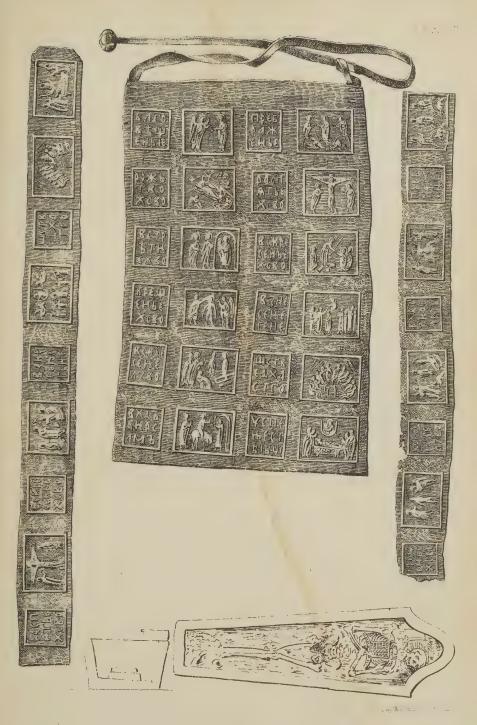




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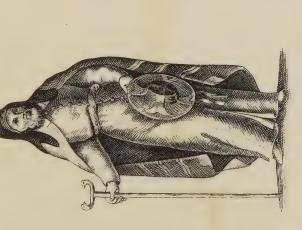


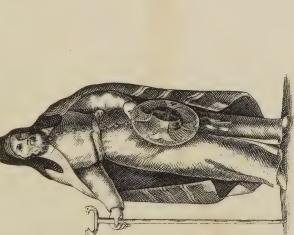


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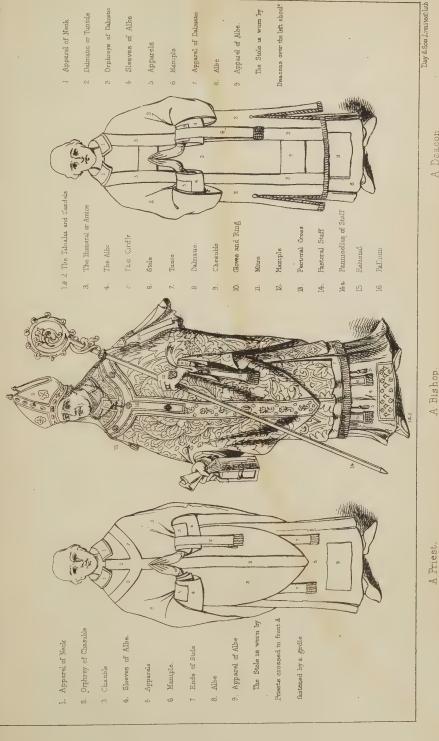


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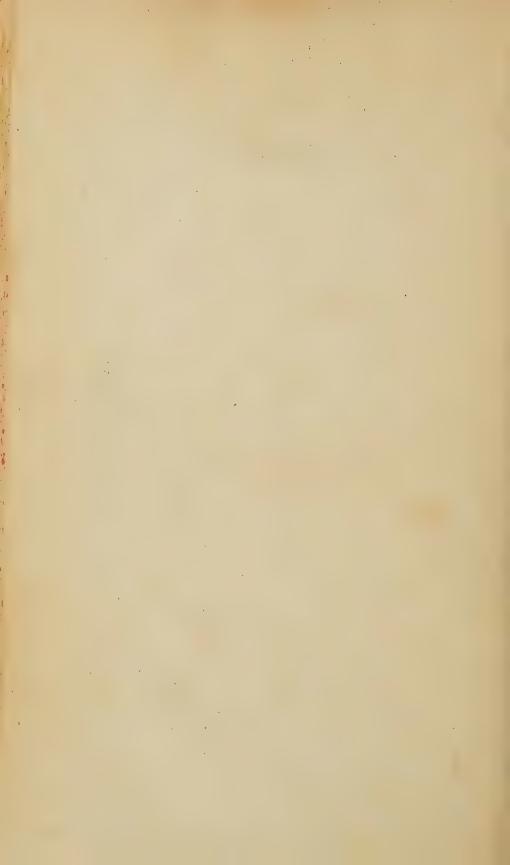
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